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THE

SCOTTISH REFORMATION:

A HISTORICAL SKETCH,

BY PETER LORIMER, D.D.
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE, LONDON;
Author of "Patrick Hamilton."

WITH TWENTY-FIVE
ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCOTTISH REFORMATION LOCALITIES,
BY BIRKET FOSTER.

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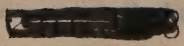

THE
NEW YORK
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PREFACE.

This Illustrated Book is offered as a contribution to the celebration of the Tricentenary of the Scottish Reformation, which falls in the present year.

The Author congratulates himself on having been able to secure the co-operation of his gifted friend, Mr. Birket Foster, and it is hoped that the many charming products of his pencil which the volume contains, may not only prove highly acceptable to Scottish readers, but may also induce many of the artist's English countrymen, with whom he is a great favourite, to peruse with attention a portion of Scottish history which in many of its parts, as well as in its general tendency and effects, had an important English as well as Scottish interest.

The reader will not expect in an outline the fulness of detail which is proper to an extended history. But the author has aimed to make this outline as comprehensive as possible; and the work, though confined to moderate limits, will be found to contain a good many new facts and features. Several blanks in our common histories have been filled up; literary

history is interwoven with the narrative of events; and particular attention has been given to the numerous Protestant exiles who were early driven out of Scotland, and settled in England, Germany, and Denmark. Many of these exiles were men of learning and ability; they were living links of connexion between the Scottish Reformation and the other Protestant churches of Europe; and the important services by which they repaid the hospitality they received, bring out to view the influence which the Reformers of Scotland exerted upon the Reformation of other lands.

Among the new facts contained in the work the author may be allowed to direct particular attention to the rectification which he has been able to give of the common account of George Wishart's recantation at Bristol in 1539; from which it appears that, instead of ignominiously recanting, on that occasion, an essential doctrine of Protestant truth, it was no truth at all which the Reformer recanted, but a serious error into which he had fallen while still groping his way out of Popish darkness into the light of the Gospel.

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE, LONDON,
May 26, 1860.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—THE HAMILTON PERIOD. A. D. 1525—1543.

Section 1. Commencement of the Reformation 1
2. Patrick Hamilton. 1525—1528. 6
3. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. 1528—1531 . . 18
4. Alexander Alesius, Alexander Seyton, and Henry Forrest. 1529—1532 29
5. Struggle for the use of the Vernacular Scriptures. 1532—1534 37
6. Persecutions and Martyrdoms. 1534—1539 . . . 45
7. Scottish Reformers in England. 1534—1540 . . 55
8. Sir David Lindsay, and the Satire of the Three Estates. 1539—1540 62
9. Sir John Borthwick and the Scottish Nobility and Gentry. 1540—1541 72
10. Death of James V., and the First Reforming Parliament. 1542—1543 80

CHAPTER II.—THE WISHART PERIOD. A. D. 1543—1554.

Section 1. Life of George Wishart to 1543 90
2. Apostasy of the Regent, and Commencement of Wishart's Ministry. 1543—1544 101
3. Renewal of Persecution—Appeal to the Nation by Alexander Alesius. 1543—1544. 109
4. Wishart's Preaching in Dundee and Ayrshire. 1544—1545 122
5. Wishart's Last Labours. 1545—1546. 133

PAGE

Section 6. Wishart's Apprehension, Trial, and Martyrdom. 1546 142

7. Assassination of Beaton, and siege of the Castle of St. Andrews. 1546—1547 155

8. English Invasion. Renewal of Persecution. The Reformation-Poets. 1547—1554 169

CHAPTER III.—THE KNOX PERIOD. A. D. 1555—1560.

Section 1. Visit of Knox to Scotland. 1555—1556 181

2. The First Protestant "Band." 1556—1558 . . . 190

3. First Petition of the Protestants to the Regent, and their Protestation before Parliament. 1558 . . 201

4. Popular Tumults. The Reformation in Arms. 1559. 213

5. Civil War. Treaty with England. Siege of Leith. 1559—1560 227

6. The Parliament of 1560 239

7. The Organization of the Reformed Church of Scotland 252

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

DRAWN BY BIRKET FOSTER,

AND ENGRAVED BY W. J. PALMER.

	PAGE
King's College, Aberdeen	1
St. Andrews	6
Falkland Palace	18
Blackfriars. St. Andrews	29
Priory Church, St. Andrews	37
Monastery of Inch Colme	45
Cambuskenneth and Stirling	55
Linlithgow Palace	62
Borthwick Castle	72
Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh	80
Chapel and Well of St. Palladius in Fordoun Glen	90
Blackness Castle	101
Nunnery of St. Clare, Dundee	109
Cowgate Port, Dundee	122
Haddington Church	133
Elphingston Tower	142
Castle of St. Andrews	155
Steeple Church, Dundee	169
Old Church and Glen at Dun-house	181
Old St. Giles, Edinburgh	190
Old Montrose	201
Old Church of Perth	213
Old Church of Leith	227
Old Holyrood House	239
John Knox's House, Edinburgh	252

Old King's College, Aberdeen.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

THE HAMILTON PERIOD. A.D. 1525—1543.

Section 1.—Commencement of the Reformation.

THE year 1525 marks the commencement of the Scottish Reformation. The writings of Luther and his followers had then begun to find their way into the country, and were exciting discussion among the educated part of the community, on the errors and abuses of the Church. The Bishops

were already in a state of alarm, and procured the passing of an Act in the Parliament which met in Edinburgh, in July of that year, by which it was ordained "That no manner of persons, strangers, that happen to arrive with the ships within any part of this realm, shall bring with them any books or works of Luther or his disciples, or shall dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions, unless it be to the confusion thereof, under the pain of escheating their ships and goods and putting of their persons in prison. And that this Act be published and proclaimed throughout this realm, at all ports and burghs of the same; so that they may allege no ignorance thereof."

The preamble of the Act boasted that the realm of Scotland and its lieges had "firmly persisted in the holy faith since the same was first received by them, and had never as yet admitted any opinions contrary to the Christian faith, but had ever been clean of all such filth and vice." But the bishops should have remembered that for ages the early Church of Scotland had carefully distinguished between the Christian faith, and what they termed the holy faith of Rome; and that in the preceding century, the Lollards of Kyle, and Fife, and Perth, had loudly protested against the corruptions of primitive truth and order which had been introduced by the Church of the Popes. Could the Archbishop of Glasgow be ignorant that in days so recent as those of James IV., numerous descendants of the Lollards of Kyle had been arraigned for heresy before the tribunal of that See, and were only saved from the extreme censures of the Church by the interposition of the King? Were the Bishops not aware that Lollardism and Lutheranism were very much alike? At all events they were doomed to see the nation become very much ashamed of that immaculate faith of which they boasted in its name; and sink deep in the mire of that heretical pravity of which they spoke with such arrogant contempt.

Foremost among the Anti-Lutheran Bishops was old Gavin Dunbar, of Aberdeen; and foremost among the Lutheranizing

communities of the kingdom, was his own ancient cathedral city. Not a month had elapsed from the passing of the above Act, when he obtained from the boy-king, James V. and his Council, a warrant to the Sheriffs of the city and county of Aberdeen, setting forth "that sundry strangers and others within that diocese were possessed of Luther's books, and favoured his errors and false opinions"—and charging them straitly to make immediate inquisition after such persons, and "to confiscate their goods to the King's use and profit." The Bishop thus signalized his diocese as the first in the kingdom where the Reformation struck its roots. A quarter of a century before, his predecessor, Bishop Elphinston, had made Aberdeen the chief seat of classical learning in the country by founding King's College, and introducing into it the study of Roman literature under the Presidency of Hector Boyce, the fellow-student and correspondent of Erasmus. And already the young institution had begun to bear fruit. Admiration of Erasmus led the way at Aberdeen, as it did in all the universities of Europe, to admiration of Luther. Boyce felt keenly, and spoke strongly, of the need of Church-reform; and it was no wonder that many of his scholars became professed Reformers. He could have little sympathy with the persecuting zeal of Elphinston's successor. No Lutheran preacher could have expressed himself more warmly regarding the corrupt and disordered state of the Scottish Church than he was doing at that very time, in his History of Scotland—a work which he published in the following year, 1526. "How different," says he, "is the state of matters at the present day, from what it was in the days of James I.—that Mæcenas of Scottish letters! No eloquence can paint it in sufficiently vivid colours, nor deplore it in terms of adequate force. Instead of the best and the most learned men being sought out to fill the highest offices of the Church, the most indolent and the most wicked of mankind have been allowed by degrees to get possession of them—seizing them with ambitious hands, and preying voraciously upon a people who are

half-devoured by their extortions. They leave nothing for men of merit to enjoy. Nay, with all their might they oppose the interests of learning, lest, if the nation should once begin to desire a better state of things, they should be compelled to abandon their vices, and to let the spoil which they have clutched escape out of their hands. These evils call for Reform. Let those whose duty it is to see them remedied look to it. A feeling of just indignation, and a becoming commiseration for the condition of my native church, have compelled me to call their attention to this duty."[1] It was no marvel that Luther found sympathising readers at Aberdeen, when such sentiments as these came from the Principal's chair of King's College.

Nor did Aberdeen stand alone in this early zeal for a Reformation. The seaports of Montrose, Dundee, Perth, St. Andrews, and Leith, were all more or less infected with the same spirit. The Scottish traders and "skippers" were in truth the earliest pioneers of the Reformation. In their annual voyages to the ports of Flanders, the Netherlands, and Lower Germany, they found Lutheran books and ideas everywhere in circulation; and they imported them with their merchandise into their own country. Nor was it only the exciting tracts of Wittemberg which they found exposed to sale in those crowded marts; William Tyndale had markets for his English Testaments in Antwerp, in Middleburg, and in Hamburg, where they were eagerly bought up by British traders, and secretly conveyed into England and Scotland. Halket, an agent employed by Cardinal Wolsey to put a stop to the English importation of the dangerous book, informed his master, in a letter still extant, that many copies of it had been bought up by Scottish merchants, and were conveyed into Leith and Edinburgh, and most of all into St. Andrews.[2]

Yes! St. Andrews itself, the seat of the primacy—the ecclesiastical and literary capital of the kingdom—was

[1] Scotorum Historiæ, Lib. xvi. fol. cccIv.

[2] Annals of the English Bible, by Rev. Christopher Anderson, vol. ii.

beginning to Lutheranize. How little did the primate, James Beaton, busy with political faction and intrigue, suspect such a danger! And how little did the dissolute Prior of St. Andrews, Patrick Hepburn, busy with guilty intrigues of another kind, suspect it! To all outward appearance, the ancient city of St. Andrew was in the very zenith of its glory. Never before had it been so magnificent in architecture, nor its streets so thronged with churchmen and academics. The College of St. Leonard's had just been added to the cluster of its schools. The Monastery of the Blackfriars had been recently rebuilt with great splendour; and some architectural works at the Priory, designed and partially executed by John Hepburn the last prior, had been finished in a style of great magnificence by Patrick, his successor. The halls of the University were crowded with students, attracted by the fame of John Major—a doctor of the Sorbonne, and one of the chief scholastic professors of the age. The Archbishop's courts were filled with suitors, and his exchequer enriched, by the sale of privileges and dispensations, with an ever-flowing stream of gold. The Vatican of Scotland appeared to have reached its highest and palmiest estate. And yet the axe was even now laid to the root of the tree; already the little cloud was seen in the horizon, no bigger than a man's hand, which was ere long to cover the whole firmament of the church with deadly storm. Luther and Tyndale were at the Primate's Castle-gate, and they were more than a match for all the power and policy of the Beatons, and the Hepburns, and the Dunbars of the Episcopate. The word of God was already in men's hands; and the Spirit of God was beginning to move in men's hearts; and these were soon to show themselves mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of error and superstition.

The Reformation of the Church of Scotland had begun.

St. Andrews.

Section 2. PATRICK HAMILTON. A.D. 1525—1528.

ALL that was wanting now was the voice of the living Reformer. Luther's Tracts and Tyndale's Testaments could do much, but they could not do every thing. The evangelical preacher, the godly confessor, the invincible Martyr of Christ's Holy Gospel must speak to the nation, before the nation's heart could be stirred to its depths. And already such a man stood ready to enter upon his work. Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are

called to such service; but one such had been chosen to be the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation.

Patrick Hamilton was of noble birth and lineage; his father, Sir Patrick, was an illegitimate son (afterwards legitimated) of the first Lord Hamilton who received in marriage the Princess Mary, daughter of king James the Second; his mother was Catherine Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Albany, second son of the same king. One of his uncles, by the father's side, was James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran, one of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom, and closely allied to the royal family; and he stood in a similar relation, by the mother's side, to John, Duke of Albany, a prince of the blood, who was Regent of the kingdom during the minority of James V.

Neither the date nor the place of his birth is accurately known; but there is good ground to believe that he was born at Stonehouse, near Glasgow, in the year 1504. He enjoyed every advantage of early education which the country could afford. In his father, he had before his eye the brightest example in the kingdom of all knightly qualities; and in his relatives, Gavyn Douglas, Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles', Edinburgh, and Lord Sinclair of Newburgh, he had opportunities of conversing with two of the most learned and accomplished of Scottish scholars.

As a younger son of the family he was early destined to the Church. In 1517, he was appointed Titular Abbot of Ferne, a Praemonstratensian Abbey in Rosshire; and probably in the same year, he left Scotland to prosecute his studies in the University of Paris. It had always been supposed that he was a student of the University of St. Andrews, but quite recently his name was discovered in a register of the *Magistri Jurati* of Paris, under the year 1520; and this discovery throws important light upon the way in which he arrived at the knowledge of evangelical truth. There were numerous disciples both of Erasmus and Luther in that great school, at the time of Hamilton's residence there. The flames of con-

troversy, enkindled by the new learning and the new theology, were raging in Paris during those very years; and when Hamilton returned to Scotland in 1523, he was already a pronounced Erasmian, in regard not only to his love of ancient literature, but also to his conviction of the need of Ecclesiastical Reform. We are told by Alexander Alesius, that "he was a man of excellent learning, and was for banishing all sophistry from the schools, and recalling philosophy to its *sources; i. e.* to the original writings of Aristotle and Plato." The same author informs us that though Hamilton was an Abbot, he never assumed the monastic habit; "such," he remarks, "was his hatred of monkish hypocrisy." Instead of going to reside with the monks of his own Abbey of Ferne, he was incorporated, in 1523, as a Master of Arts with the University of St. Andrews, and took up his abode in that city.

It required the study and reflection of several years to develop the young disciple of Erasmus into the decided adherent of Luther. Hamilton could not have yet openly declared for the Reformation, when he was admitted to Priest's Orders, probably in 1526; but the motives which induced him to take upon him priesthood, reveal the evangelical spirit which was secretly gathering strength in his heart. "It was," says John Frith, the English Martyr, "because he sought all means to testify the truth, even as Paul circumcised Timothy to win the weak Jews." He did not yet understand that the faithful ministry of God's word was utterly irreconcilable with the service of the Church of Rome. It was about the beginning of 1527, that rumours first reached the Archbishop of St. Andrews that Hamilton had openly espoused the cause of Luther; and Beaton instantly took steps to bring him to a strict account. Such a preacher of heresy was formidable indeed. In a country where noble birth and powerful connexions had still more influence in society than in any other kingdom of Europe, a preacher of Lutheranism, with royal blood in his veins, and all the power of the Hamiltons at his

back, was a more dangerous enemy of the Church than Martin Luther himself, in person, would have been. The moment was critical; no time must be lost. Beaton made immediate inquisition into the truth of the information which had reached him, and having found the young preacher "infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to the faith," he summoned him to appear before his tribunal. Patrick Hamilton had prepared himself to preach the truth, but he did not yet feel himself able to die for it. He had already the faith of an Evangelist, but not quite yet the faith of a Martyr. Early in 1527 he withdrew from Scotland, and repaired to the evangelical schools of Germany; two friends and an attendant accompanied him.

He was for a short time at Wittemberg, but unfortunately no particulars have been preserved of his intercourse with Luther and Melancthon. From Wittemberg he proceeded to Marburg, and was present at the inauguration of the new university of Philip the landgrave. His name still stands enrolled on the earliest page of the academic album. Here he attached himself with peculiar love to Francis Lambert, who presided over the Theological Faculty, and under whose teaching his progress in evangelical divinity was signally rapid. The master became as much attached to his disciple, as the disciple was to the master. Lambert has left on record a highly valuable testimony to his talents and character. "His learning," he says, "was of no common kind for his years, and his judgment in divine truth was eminently clear and solid; his object in visiting the university was to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth, and I can truly say that I have seldom met with any one who conversed on the word of God with greater spirituality and earnestness of feeling; he was often in conversation with me upon those subjects." "He was the first man, after the erection of the university, who put forth a series of theses to be publicly defended; these theses were conceived in the most evangelical spirit, and were maintained by him with the

greatest learning ; it was by my advice that he published them." The theses here referred to were afterwards translated into English by John Frith, and in that form have been preserved both by Fox, the English martyrologist, and by John Knox, the historian of the Scottish Reformation, under the name of Patrick's *Places*. They form an interesting and important monument of the earliest teaching of the Scottish reformers. Their doctrine is purely evangelical, without exhibiting the peculiarities of either the Lutheran or the Helvetic confession.

At the end of a six months' residence in evangelical Germany, Hamilton felt that the time had arrived when the duty he owed to God and his country obliged him to return home. His two friends appear to have shrunk from the peril of accompanying him, but no prospect of danger could now turn him aside from his high purpose of becoming an evangelist to his native land. What a change ! Six months ago he was a fugitive, escaping from his country, because he felt himself unequal to the mission of a Gospel martyr. But now he is in haste to face the perils which he was then in haste to shun. How surprising ! And yet the explanation is easy. These six months had been spent among the most illustrious teachers and heroes of the Reformed faith. His teachers had been all evangelical doctors of the highest eminence, and they were all evangelical heroes, as well as doctors. It was impossible for a soul like his to be so long in communion with souls like theirs, without catching their spirit, and being overmastered by their inspiration.

On his arrival in Scotland, Hamilton repaired to the family mansion of Kincavel, near Linlithgow, and it was there that he found his first congregation. His elder brother, Sir James, was now in possession of the family estates and honours ; his mother still survived, and he had a sister named Katherine, a lady of spirit and talent. These near relatives and the servants of the family made up his first audience, and his labours among them were blessed with signal success. Both his brother and

sister welcomed the truth, and were honoured in after years to suffer much for its sake.

But he did not confine himself to the circle of Kincavel; he began to preach the long-lost Gospel in all the country round. "The bright beams of the true light," says Knox, "which by God's grace were planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth, as well in public as in secret."—"Wheresoever he came," says another historian, "he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to show the errors crept into the Christian religion; whereunto many gave ear, and a great following he had, both for his learning and courteous demeanour to all sorts of people."

What he preached with so much success we may gather from his "Places." In that little tract we come into communion with the very soul and spirit of his brief but fruitful ministry. He preached *faith* in Jesus Christ to his countrymen, as the living root of hope and charity. He aimed at a reformation of the national Church which began at the root, not at the branches. It was by making the root of his country's religion and life good, that he expected to make the tree good and its fruit good. And his hope did not deceive him. The preacher himself, indeed, was soon silenced and cut off, but his doctrine lived after him, and wrought with a leaven-like virtue in the nation's heart, till it leavened the whole lump.

Soon after his return from Germany, Hamilton, though a priest and an abbot, took the decisive step of entering into matrimony. His bride was a young lady of noble rank, whose name, unfortunately, has not been preserved. The motive which Alesius assigns for this step, was the Reformer's hatred of the hypocrisy of the Roman Church. He seems to have felt on the occasion very much as Luther did in similar circumstances. He wished to show by deed, as well as by word, how entirely he had cast off the usurped and oppressive authority of the Roman See.

But both his married life and his career as a preacher were destined to be very brief. Early in 1528 the Archbishop of

St. Andrews resumed the proceedings against him which had been interrupted by his flight to Germany a year before. Affecting a tone of candour and moderation, Beaton sent him a message, desiring a conference with him at St. Andrews, on such points of the Church's condition and administration as might seem to stand in need of reform. Hamilton was not deceived by this dissimulation; he perceived clearly the policy of his enemies, and foresaw and foretold the speedy issue of their proceedings. Like St. Paul, he knew well that bonds and imprisonment awaited him in the city of the chief priests and Pharisees; but he felt bound in the spirit to go thither notwithstanding, not counting his life dear unto him, that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received to testify the Gospel of the grace of God.

Having arrived at St. Andrews about the middle of January, the pretended conference took place, and was continued during several days. The Archbishop and his coadjutors seemed to approve of the Reformer's views on many points, and when the conference was ended, he was allowed to move freely through the city and university, and to declare his convictions without hindrance both in public and private. By this dissembling and procrastinating policy his enemies gained several important ends. They gained time for their intrigues with the political chiefs of the country, to secure their tacit acquiescence in the tragical issue which they were all the while preparing; and they gave Hamilton opportunity and inducement to declare his opinions without reserve, in a city which was crowded with their own abettors; where every new expression of his enmity to the Church would be instantly noted down, and converted into a weapon to destroy him.

But the cause of truth was also materially served by this delay. The zealous Reformer turned this unexpected opportunity to the best account. He taught and disputed openly in the university on all the points on which he conceived a reformation to be necessary in the Church's doctrines, and in her administration of the sacraments and other rites; and he

continued to do so for nearly a whole month. That busy month was a precious seed-time. At St. Andrews he was at ecclesiastical head-quarters, and was brought into communication with a larger variety of influential classes of men than he could have met with in any other city of the kingdom. Regents and students, doctors and lawyers, deans and canons, seculars and regulars, Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans, all alike were reached by his voice, and felt the power of his teaching.

At length the moment arrived when Beaton and his advisers felt that it was safe to throw off the mask. A summons was issued to Hamilton requiring him to appear before the Primate on a certain day, to answer to the charge of holding and teaching divers heretical opinions. His friends saw what was imminent, and entreated him while yet at liberty to save his life by flight. But he firmly declined to escape from St. Andrews. "He had come thither," he said, "to confirm the minds of the godly by his death as a martyr to the truth; and to turn his back now would be to lay a stumbling-block in their path, and to cause some of them to fall."

When he appeared before the Archbishop, he was interrogated upon thirteen articles of heresy which were laid to his charge. He answered that several of these articles were "disputable points, but such as he could not condemn unless he saw better reasons than yet he had heard; but that the first seven were undoubtedly true, to which he was prepared to set his hand."

These seven were the following :—

That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism.

That no man, by the power of his free will, can do any good.

That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.

That every true Christian may know himself to be in the state of grace.

That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only.

That good works make not a good man, but that a good

man doeth good works, and that an ill man doeth ill works; yet the same ill works truly repented make not an ill man.

That faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them, hath all, and he that lacketh one, lacketh all.

The whole of the articles were then remitted to the judgment of a council of theologians, and Hamilton, in the meanwhile, was allowed to remain at liberty.

Within a few days more, everything was ready for the last acts of the tragedy. The Reformer was apprehended, and lodged in the Castle of St. Andrews, and on the last day of February he was brought before a tribunal, consisting of prelates, abbots, priors, and doctors, which sat in the metropolitan cathedral. The theologians presented to the tribunal their censure of the articles, "judging them all heretical, and contrary to the faith of the Church." Then Friar Campbell stood forward and read over the articles with a loud voice, and charged them, one by one, upon the Reformer. "I was myself," says Alesius, "an eye-witness of the tragedy, and heard him answering for his life to the charges of heresy which were laid against him: and he was so far from disowning them, that he defended and established them by clear testimonies of Scripture, and refuted the reasonings of his accuser." At length Campbell was silenced, and turned to the tribunal for fresh instructions. "Desist from reasoning," cried the bishops; "add new accusations—call him heretic to his face." "Heretic!" exclaimed the Dominican, turning again towards the pulpit where Hamilton stood. "Nay, brother," replied Hamilton mildly, "you do not think me heretic in your heart; in your conscience you know that I am no heretic." The appeal must have gone to the friar's heart, for he had professed to Hamilton, in several private interviews, that on many points he agreed with him. But Campbell had basely consented to be an actor, and he must needs go on with his part. "Heretic!" he exclaimed

again, "thou saidst it was lawful to all men to read the Word of God, and especially the New Testament." "I wot not," replied Hamilton, "if I said so, but I say now, it is reason and lawful to all men to read the Word of God, and that they are able to understand the same; and in particular, the latter will and testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their sins, and repent of the same, and amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Jesus Christ." "Heretic! thou sayest it is but lost labour to pray to or call upon saints, and in particular on the blessed Virgin Mary, as mediators to God for us." "I say with Paul, There is no mediator betwixt God and man, but Christ Jesus his Son, and whatsoever they be who call or pray to any saint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of his office." "Heretic! thou sayest it is all in vain to sing soul-masses, psalms and dirigies for the relaxation of souls departed, who are continued in the pains of purgatory." "Brother, I have never read in the Scripture of God of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that may purge the souls of men but the blood of Christ Jesus, which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-mass, nor dirigie, nor in gold, nor silver, but only by repentance of sins, and faith in the blood of Jesus Christ."

Such was Patrick Hamilton's noble confession in the face of that solemn tribunal. He spoke out the whole truth of God as he knew it, and he spoke it in love, calling even his opprobrious and perfidious accuser, Brother.

Sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and execution was appointed to take place that very day, the bishops having reason to fear that an attempt would be made by armed men to rescue their prisoner by force. The usual formalities of degradation from the priesthood were dispensed with, and in an hour or two after Hamilton had heard his doom in the cathedral, executioners were preparing the stake at which he was to die, in front of the gate of St. Salvator's College.

At noon, when the martyr came in sight of the fatal spot,

he uncovered his head, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, addressed himself in prayer to Him who alone could give him a martyr's strength and victory. On reaching the stake, he handed to one of his friends a copy of the New Testament which had long been his companion, and taking off his cap and gown, and other upper garments, he gave them to his servant, saying, "These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind. For, albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before man, yet is it the entrance to eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation."

The officials of the Archbishop made a last attempt to overcome his constancy. They offered him his life if he would recant the confession which he had made in the cathedral. "As to my confession," he replied, "I will not deny it for the awe of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus. And as to the sentence pronounced against me this day, I here, in presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sentence and judgment, and take me to the mercy of God."

The executioners then stepped forward to do their office. Fire was laid to the pile, and exploded some powder which was placed among the faggots, but though thrice kindled, the flames took no steady hold of the pile. Dry wood and more powder had to be brought from the castle. The sufferings of the martyr were thus painfully protracted. Alesius, who was a witness of the whole scene, tells us that the execution lasted for nearly six hours; and during all that time, he assures us, the martyr never gave one sign of impatience or anger. When surrounded and devoured by fierce flames, he remembered, in his torment, his widowed mother, and commended her to the care of his friends with his dying breath. His last audible words were, "How long, Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

"Thus tragically, but gloriously, died on the 29th day of February, 1528, Patrick Hamilton, a noble martyr in a noble cause. At a time when the power of the Roman Church in Scotland was yet entire and overwhelming, it was not permitted him to serve the cause of the recovered Gospel by the labours of a long life, but he joyfully embraced the honour of serving it by the heroic constancy and devotion of his death. Such a martyrdom was precisely what Scotland needed to stir its heart. Such a death had more awakening power in it than the labours of a long life. If his spoken words had been few, they had, at least, been pithy and pregnant, "the words of the wise, which are as goads and as nails in a sure place," and his fiery martyrdom clenched and riveted them in the nation's heart for ever.

"At Marburg the grief of the Reformers was only equalled by their admiration. 'He came to your university,' exclaimed Lambert, addressing the Landgrave, not many months after, 'out of Scotland, that remote corner of the world, and he returned to his country again to become its first, and now illustrious apostle. He was all on fire with zeal to confess the name of Christ, and he has offered himself to God as a holy living sacrifice. He brought into the Church of God not only all the splendour of his station and gifts, but his life itself. Such is the flower of surpassing sweetness, yea, the ripe fruit, which your university has produced in its very commencement. You have not been disappointed of your wishes. You formed this school with the desire that from it might go forth intrepid confessors of Christ, and steadfast assertors of his truth. See! you have one such already, an example in many ways illustrious. Others, if the Lord will, will follow soon.'"[1]

[1] Vide "Patrick Hamilton, the first Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation. An Historical Biography, collected from original sources with an Appendix of Original Papers." Edinburgh, Constable & Co. 1857. By the Author.

Falkland Palace.

Section 3.—Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. 1528—31.

The preacher's pulpit and the martyr's stake are powerful weapons in the battle of God and truth, and they are the chief arms with which that battle has always been fought and won. But they are not its only artillery. The poet and the painter, the scholar and the dramatist, all played a distinguished part in the great struggle of the Reformation, and were thankfully welcomed to the field by the preachers and theologians. Luther found most effective auxiliaries in the satires and dramas of

Ulrich von Hutten and Hans Sachs, and in the paintings and prints of Albert Durer and the two Cranachs; and the Scottish Reformation was powerfully aided by a succession of native poets and dramatists, of whom it produced a larger number, in proportion to the population of the country, than any of the other reformed kingdoms of Europe.

Of all these vernacular Reformation poets, the first in time and in influence was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Of aristocratic birth and station, the laurelled poet of a court, an ardent patriot, and an enthusiastic sympathizer with the great intellectual and ecclesiastical movement of the age, he may deserve, in these respects, the name of the Ulrich von Hutten of the Scottish Reformation. But he is also its Hans Sachs, for all his poetry was written in the homely vernacular of the people, and was distinguished for the same popular qualities of broad common sense, plainspoken honesty, and hearty home-spun humour, which made the shoemaker-poet of Nuremberg the idol of the multitude.

Lindsay was born at the Mount, a small estate belonging to his family near Cupar, in Fife, about the year 1495. In 1508 he entered the university of St. Andrews, along with David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal; and immediately after the birth of James V. in 1512, he was appointed Gentleman Usher to the infant prince. In this office he continued till 1524, when, by the intrigues of the Queen-mother and the Douglases, her son was "erected" to the nominal government of the kingdom at the absurdly early age of twelve years, and when Lindsay was unjustly ejected from his post, to make way for some one who was more in favour with the ruling faction. This long residence at the court was of the greatest importance in qualifying the poet for his after career. It gave him an intimate knowledge of men and things; it allowed him to take a very near view of the leading minds who ruled public affairs in Church and State; and it secured for him a place in the affections of the young king, to whose amusement and instruction he had devoted the earliest efforts of his genius, from

which he could never afterwards be dislodged, and which proved a powerful protection to him from the formidable enemies whom he provoked by his reforming zeal, and goaded to resentment by his pungent satire.

Obliged to wait patiently for better times in the solitude of his "neuk" at the Mount, Lindsay employed several years of study and reflection in furnishing himself for the duties of patriotism and religion which lay before him. He was a great reader, not only of poetry and fiction, but of history, geography, astronomy, and all the other branches of general knowledge which were cultivated in that age; and by these studies he qualified himself to earn the fame of being one of the most learned poets of his time. His attention was also drawn during these years to the doctrines of Luther. The Mount was only a few miles from St. Andrews, where Patrick Hamilton taught and died, and in the very same year in which the bishops succeeded in stifling the testimony of the first reformer, Lindsay came forth with his first poetical invective against the corruptions of the Church.

It was in 1528 that Lindsay wrote and presented to the young king, James V., the earliest of his printed poems, "The Dreme." A few months after Hamilton's martyrdom, the king, who till now had been a mere puppet in the hands of the Douglases, managed by his own unassisted address to effect his escape from the toils of his keepers. In the dead of night he fled on horseback from Falkland to Stirling Castle, and summoning his nobles to attend him with all possible haste, and orbidding by proclamation the Douglases to approach Stirling upon pain of treason, he inaugurated a complete revolution in the administration of the kingdom. This unexpected event had the happiest effect upon Lindsay. It rubbed off at once "the rust of his ingyne;" and before the year was out, he presented to the king a poem of congratulation and advice, which does the highest honour to his genius and patriotism. It opens with "The Epistle to the King's Grace," some interesting lines of which we quote, to show with what tenderness and skill the

poet could touch the springs of his young sovereign's early attachment to him, and what advantages that attachment gave him for gaining the royal ear to the earnest words which it was now his wish and purpose to speak.

"Right potent prince, of high imperial blood,
Unto thy Grace, I traist it be weill knawn,
My service done unto thy Celsitude,
Whilk need-is nocht at length for to be schawn.

"When thou was young I bore thee in mine arm
Full tenderly, till thou begouth[1] to gang,
And in thy bed oft happit thee full warm.
With lute in hand, syne, softly to thee sang.
Sometime, in dancing feirelie[2] I flang,
And sometime playing farces on the flure,
And sometime on mine office taking cure.[3]

"And sometime, like ane fiend transfigurate,
And sometime like the grisley ghaist of Guy,
In divers forms ofttimes disfigurate;
And sometimes disaguised full pleasandly;
So sen thy birth I have continually
Been occupied, and aye to thy pleasoùr,
And sometime Sewar, Cùppar and Carvoùr,

"Thy purse-maister and secret thesaurare,
Thy usher, aye sen thy nativity,
And of thy chalmer chief Cubiculare;
Whilk to this hour has keipit my lawtie,[4]
Loving[5] be to the blessed Trinitie,
That sic ane wretched worm has made so able,
To sic ane Prince to be so agreeable."

"The Dreme, or Marvellous Vision," contains, among many other things, a powerful description of hell, to which the poet imagines himself conducted by Dame Remembrance, a lady "of benign countenance" and "perfect portraiture," who

[1] Began. [2] Vigorously. [3] Care.
[4] Loyalty or fidelity. [5] Praise.

appears to him as he lies asleep in a sea-side cave; and it is in this part of the piece that Lindsay gives the earliest revelation of his opinions respecting the state of the Church. "Get up," quoth the Dame Remembrance :—

"—— and gang anon with me,
So were we baith, in twinkling of ane ee

"Down through the earth, in middis of the centre
Or ever I wist into the lowest hell;
And to that careful cove when we did enter,
Yowting[1] and yowling we heard, with mony yell;
In flame of fire right furious and fell
Was crying mony carefull[2] cre-ature;
Blaspheming God and warying[3] nature."

And whom of all the world did the poet see plunged in that dismal Pandemonium?

"There saw we divers popes and emperors,
Without recover mony careful kings;
There saw we mony wrangous conquerors;
The men of kirk lay bunden into bings;[4]
There saw we mony careful cardinals,
And archbishops in their pontificals.

"Proud and perverset prelates out of number,
Priors, and abbots, and false flattering friers,
To specify them all it were ane cumber,
Regular canons, churl-monks and chartereres,
Curious clerk-is and priest-is seculeres;
There was some part of ilk religion[5]
In haly kirk that did abusion."

What a startling stroke of satire! to represent churchmen of all ranks and orders as the chief population of hell. But the poet is more daring still.

[1] Shouting. [2] Woeful. [3] Cursing.
[4] Bound in heaps. [5] Religious order.

"*Ruling that rout,* I saw in caps of brass,
Simon Magus and Bishop Caiaphas,
The Bishop Annas, and the traitor Judas,
And Mahomet, that prophet poisonable;
There Chora, Dathan, and Abiram was,
And heretics we saw innumerable;
It was ane sight right wonder lamentable."

To put Annas and Caiaphas among the bishops, and to make Judas, Simon Magus, and even Mahomet, the rulers of the churchmen's rout in Pandemonium, was an audacity of satire which had never been matched before in the Scottish tongue.

The poet of course is not a little astonished and scandalized at the sight before him, so different from anything commonly imagined in the upper regions; and he demands of Dame Remembrance the cause of the "punition of the prelates." Her reply is a graphic picture of the disorders of the Church:—

"She said the cause of their unhappy chance
Was covetyce, and lust, and ambition;
The whilk now gars[1] them want fruition
Of God—and here eternally mon[2] dwell
Into this painful, poisoned pit of hell.

"Als, they did nocht instruct the ignorant,
Provoking them to penitence by preaching,
But servit warldly princes, insolent,
And were promoved by their feigned fleeching,[3]
Nocht for their science, wisdom, nor their teiching,
By simony was their promotion
Mair for deneirs,[4] nor for devotion.

"Ane other cause of the punition
Of thir unhappy prelates, imprudent;
They made nocht equal distribution
Of haly kirk-is patrimony and rent,
But temporally[5] they have it all misspent,
Which should have been triparted into three,
First to uphauld the kirk in honesty;

[1] Compels. [2] Must. [3] Flattery. [4] Money.
[5] On worldly objects.

"The second part to sustain their estates,[1]
The third part to be given to the puris.
But they disponed that geir all other gaits,[2]
On cards and dice, on harlotry and huris—
Thir catives took na compt of their own curis;
Their kirk-is revin, their ladies cleanly cled,
And richly rulit, baith at buird and bed.

"Their bastard bairn-is proudly they provided,
The kirk geir largely they did on them spend;
In their defaults, their subdits[3] were misguided,[4]
And compted nocht their God for till offend;
Whilk gart them want grace at their latter end."

That Lindsay meant all this to apply to the state of the national Church he was careful to indicate to the King, in a subsequent part of the piece, where he introduces "John the Commonweill of Scotland," making a bitter complaint of the disorder and corruption into which all ranks and orders of the realm had fallen, during the long minority of the monarch. In the "hieland," in the "lowland," on the borders, all was in confusion and misery, and nowhere could John find any class or condition of men who would listen to his complaints. As for the clergy, he had as little hope from them, as from any other quarter,—

"For I have sought through all the spiritual state,
Whilk took no compt for to hear me complain;
Their officiars—they held me at disdain.
For symonie he rul-is all that rout,
And covetice, that carle, gart bar me out.
Pride has chased far from them humility;
Devotioun is fled unto the freirs;
Sensual plesoùr has banished chastity;
Lords of religion go like seculeres,
Taking mair compt in telling their deneirs,
Nor they do of their constitution;
Thus are they blinded by ambitioun."

[1] Office and position. [2] Ways. [3] Those placed under their charge. [4] Misused or neglected.

Court-poets have sometimes had no higher aims in using the language of Church Reformers than to amuse their princes at the expense of the clergy, to gratify the resentment or the jealousy of their royal patrons, and to carry off the honours of satirical genius. But Lindsay had no such low aims when he knelt before James to present to him "The Dreme." He was thoroughly in earnest for religious reform when he adopted this ingenious expedient for bringing under the young king's notice the disorders of the Church. Lindsay rejoiced in the freedom from the yoke of a selfish faction which his beloved prince had now achieved for himself; and he was sincerely anxious to see the king's government carried on with wisdom and vigour both in its civil and its ecclesiastical administration. The design of the whole poem was to tender to the young monarch at the outset of his management of affairs the best counsel and advice. The "Exhortation to the King's Grace," with which it ends, is a model of enlightened, affectionate, and free-spoken loyalty.

Lindsay's next piece, "The Complaint," was presented to the king at the close of 1529. It is in part a complaint for himself, that as yet his early services at court had been left without any substantial reward; but the chief stress of the poem is laid upon the as yet uncorrected abuses of the Church. Since his accession to real power the king had redressed many evils in the state; but as yet he had done nothing for the better ordering of the Clergy. Border-robbers and highland "caterans" had been brought to reason or to the gallows, but the bishops, and abbots, and priests were still unreformed. Of this the poet complains in the following homely but vigorous lines, in which at the same time he gives the king a sketch of the needed reforms:—

> "So is there nought, I understand,
> Without gude order in this land,
> Except the spirituality;
> Praying thy Grace thereto have ee.

Cause them mak ministratioun,
Conform to their vocatioun ;
To preach with unfeinyet intents,
And truly use the sacraments,
After Christ's institutions.
Leaving their vain traditions,
Whilk does the silly sheep illude,
Whom for, Christ Jesus shed his blood ;
As superstitious pilgrimages,
Praying to graven images,
Express against the Lord's command ;
I do thy Grace to understand,
Gif thou to men-is laws assent
Against the Lord's commandèment,
As Jeroboam and mony mo,
Princes of Israel also,
Assentars to idolatrie,
Whilk punished were right piteously,
And from their realms were rooted out,
So sall thou be, withouten doubt."

The poet's complaint personal, could be sooner and more easily redressed than his complaint ecclesiastical. The very next year the king appointed him to the honourable and remunerative office of Lord Lion King-at-arms, or head of the College of Scottish Heralds, a position singularly suitable to Lindsay's tastes, and favourable in a high degree both to the development of his genius, and the diffusion of his influence. Soon after his appointment he produced one of the most ingenious and effective of all his works, "The Complaint of the Papingo," or more fully, "The Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lord's Papingo, which lies sore wounded, and may nocht die till every man have heard what she says ; wherefore, gentle readers, haste you, that she were out of pain." The papingo is the king's popinjay, or parrot, and a great favourite with the young prince. But royal favourites are fond of climbing, and ambition was the death of poor poll. Nothing would content her, one beautiful summer morning, when the poet took her upon his wrist into

the palace garden, but she must mount to the very top of a lofty tree :—

> " But Boreas blew a blast or ever she wist,
> Which brak the branch, and blew her suddenly
> Doun to the ground with many woeful cry.
> Upon a stump she lichted, on her breast,
> The blude rushed out, and she cried for a priest."

The papingo, however, has a great deal to say before she dies. Her gifts of wisdom and speech are much above those of an ordinary parrot, and she dictates first an " Epistle to our Sovereign Lord King James the Fifth," which is full of excellent counsel, every way fit for the royal ear. Then a second and much larger epistle to " her brethren of court," in which she shows herself much better able to give advice on the dangers of ambition, than she had been disposed to take such advice herself. Last of all, she gathers up all her remaining strength for a lengthened " communing with her holy executors," to wit, the pye, the raven, and the gled, or kite, who by this time have arrived to receive her dying confession and commands. The pye is a canon regular of St. Austin ; the raven is a black monk, benedictine or dominican ; and the gled, most rapacious of all, is a friar of the order of St. Francis ; and this third part of the poem paints the hypocrisy of the religious orders, their cunning and their sordid greed, to the very life. One after another, the dying papingo's holy executors urge her to make a disposition of her " guids and gear " in favour of their respective orders, and for a time she keeps them all at bay, taxing them all roundly with many shameful vices and corruptions, and lecturing them, with no ordinary powers of satire and sarcasm, upon their flagrant degeneracy from the purity of the holy men who were the founders of their several " rules." In truth, she is as learned a papingo as she is fluent and sarcastic ; she knows Church history well, declaims upon the radical error of the Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester in divorcing the Church from Poverty, her first spouse, and marrying her to Property, to which alliance

she traces up, with as much pertinacity as a modern "Voluntary," all the corruptions and disorders of the Church. At last, however, her fast ebbing strength obliges her to come to the point of making her will, though she tells the pye, the raven, and the gled, that she only consents to make them her executors for want of better and honester men. They beg her instructions, and solemnly assure her of their fidelity and honour. She makes her last testament accordingly. Then follows her "mortal passion;" but no sooner is the breath out of her body than they all fall upon her, and tear her limb from limb without pity or remorse. Her last will and testament is a piece of waste paper; all their holy professions and vows of fidelity go for nothing. They quarrel violently over their booty; the gled will not hear of even the king getting his legacy—the poor papingo's loyal heart; and when the pye and the raven, dreading the pains of law, appeal against the gled's treasonable design to the Pope, the greedy gled takes all three, Pope, king, and law, unceremoniously into his own hand.

> "With that the gled the piece claucht in his cluke,[1]
> And fled his way, the lave[2] with all their might,
> To chase the gled, flew all out of my sight."

Lindsay never wrote anything better than this piece. Its satire is perfect, and its poetical merit, in point of invention, ingenuity, and felicity of conception, is very high. It was the first work, apparently, which he wrote for the public eye, as well as for the eye of the king and court; and not only Scotland but England appreciated its excellence. An edition of it was printed in London as early as 1538; and its circulation in the two kingdoms could not fail to strengthen greatly the hands of those who, with graver though not always more effective weapons, were fighting the same battle of truth, and liberty, and patriotism as our Poet-Reformer—now styled Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.[3]

[1] Caught in his claw. [2] The rest.

[3] *Vide* The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. By George Chalmers. In three volumes. London, 1806.

Blackfriars. St. Andrews.

Section 4. Alexander Alesius, Alexander Seyton, and Henry Forrest. 1529—1532.

While the poet of the Mount was thus powerfully serving the cause of truth and reform by successive efforts of his satiric genius, other disciples of Hamilton stood forth to carry forward the work in the pulpit and the cloister. Alexander Alane, afterwards called Alesius, was a canon of the Augustinian priory of St. Andrews. Born in Edinburgh in 1500, he

was one of the first batch of students who were educated in the new College of St. Leonards, founded in 1512 by Prior John Hepburn. Having taken his degree in 1515, he soon after passed from the college into the adjoining cloister; and when John Major came to St. Andrews in 1523, he applied himself to the study of scholastic theology under that distinguished professor. The young canon was fond of theological disputation, and soon acquired considerable reputation for his dialectic skill. He was perhaps the first Scottish theologian who wrote against Luther; and his treatise, though borrowed in part, as he acknowledges, from the writings of Bishop Fisher of Rochester, was highly applauded by the doctors of St. Andrews.

When Patrick Hamilton came to that city, early in 1528, Alesius did not doubt that he would be able to convince him of his errors, and to bring him back to the true faith of the Church. He was personally acquainted with him, as Hamilton had often been a visitor at the priory, and he repeatedly conversed with him during the month which preceded his martyrdom. But instead of converting the Reformer he was himself converted; and the deep impression which Hamilton made upon him by his arguments, was made deeper still by the affecting spectacle of his trial and death. Alesius, as before remarked, was a witness of these scenes, and afterwards penned the earliest account of them in one of his works. The applauded antagonist of Luther was now a Lutheran, and without hastily declaring his convictions, nothing could induce him to express approval of the proceedings which had been taken against Hamilton, or to pronounce any unfavourable judgment upon the articles for which he had been condemned.

This silence brought him under suspicion, and gave offence to his superior, Patrick Hepburn, the prior, who had taken an active part in Hamilton's prosecution; and it was probably with the view of entrapping him into some overt declaration of his new opinions, that he was appointed to preach before a provincial synod which met in St. Andrews in 1529. His

sermon was in Latin, and was addressed exclusively to the clergy; it touched no points of doctrine or ecclesiastical prerogative: its sole and single aim was to enforce upon the clergy the duty of being faithful pastors, and setting a good example to their flocks; but it gave mortal offence notwithstanding. He had spoken plainly of the vices of the clergy, though he had said nothing of the doctrinal corruptions of the Church, and the prelates were indignant at the bold preacher. Beaton declared that the sermon smelt of Lutheranism, and the prior cried out in a rage that the whole of it was aimed against himself. Hepburn's conscience, in truth, was defiled with numerous adulteries, and the conscious sting within made him imagine, that what Alesius had spoken in the general interest of clerical morality was directed as a deliberate insult against himself. He vowed to have his revenge upon the heretical canon.

Not long after, it chanced that the canons of the priory were assembled in the chapter-house, to advise upon what steps they should take to obtain redress from certain grievances, which they were all suffering in common at the hand of their oppressive prior. On a sudden, Hepburn, hearing of their meeting and its design, presented himself at the door of the chapter-house with a band of armed attendants; and, casting his eye upon Alesius, went straight up to him and dragged him with violence from his seat. In a paroxysm of rage, he threw him down upon the pavement of the chapter-house, and kicked him upon the breast. It seemed as if he would have slain him upon the spot, if the other canons had not rushed to the rescue, and pulled the prior back by main force from his victim. Alesius's life was saved; but the wrath of his superior was not appeased till he, and all the canons who had taken part with him, were cast into the prison of the monastery.

What a picture of the condition of monastic life, in the most dignified of all the monasteries of Scotland, in the sixteenth century! And what a scandal to the Church, that a

man so dissolute and unprincipled as Patrick Hepburn should a few years after this have been made Bishop of Moray!

The story of Alesius's sufferings and repeated imprisonments, as told by himself, is a long one, and cannot be given in detail here. We can only relate, that when the young king interfered to obtain relief for the imprisoned canons, they were all set at liberty but Alesius; that when a rumour went through St. Andrews that he was dead, and the provost came to the priory to demand in the king's name that his body should be produced either dead or alive, he was taken out of his loathsome dungeon, and after being washed and dressed, was presented to the magistrate; but having disobeyed the prior's orders, in answering the provost's questions too frankly, he was taken back again to his prison, where he remained for many months. At last, the canons, having learned that Hepburn was concerting a design with Beaton to bring him to trial for heresy, advised and assisted him to make his escape, and he saved his life by a nocturnal flight from St. Andrews to Dundee. Next morning he made a narrow escape of being retaken by a band of horsemen whom Hepburn sent in pursuit, and succeeded in getting on board a ship which was setting sail for France. This was in 1530. His persecutions and sufferings had lasted nearly a whole year. He never returned to Scotland; but he never ceased throughout a long life to feel the deepest interest in the reformation of the Scottish Church. When he next comes before us, we shall find him at Wittemberg, an honoured disciple at the feet of Luther and Melancthon, and fighting upon German ground the noble battle of the spiritual emancipation of his native country.

A second disciple of Hamilton among the regular clergy of St. Andrews was Alexander Seyton. He was the son of Sir Alexander Seyton of Touch, and was educated at St. Andrews, where his name appears among the graduates of 1516. Having entered the dominican order, his talents and character raised him to a high place among its members, who at that time

included many of the most learned and exemplary of the Scottish clergy; and he was appointed confessor to the young king. He is described as a man of tall stature, of quick genius, and of a bold and manly spirit. The date of his first public appearance as a reformed preacher is not exactly known, but it was probably in 1530 or 1531; when, having been appointed to preach during Lent in one of the churches of St. Andrews, "he taught for the space of a whole lentran," says Knox, "the commandments of God only, ever beating into the ears of his auditors that the law of God had of many years not been truly taught, for men's traditions had obscured the purity of it. These were his accustomed propositions. First:—Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law. Second:—there is no sin where God's law is not violated. Third:—to satisfy for sin lies not in man's power; but the remission thereof comes by unfeigned repentance and by faith, apprehending God the Father, merciful in Christ Jesus his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in mind of these and the like heads, he makes no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimages, prayer to saints, nor such trifles."

Till Lent was over, and Seyton had left St. Andrews for Dundee, "the dumb doctors" of the University said and did nothing; but as soon as he was gone, they employed a more orthodox predicant to go into the same pulpit, and condemn every word of Seyton's preaching; "which coming to the ears of the said friar Alexander, without delay he returned to St. Andrews, and caused immediately to *jow* the bell and give signification that he would preach; as that he did indeed. In the which sermon he affirmed, and that more plainly than at any other time, whatsoever in his whole sermons he had taught during the whole Lent-tide preceding: adding that within Scotland there was no true bishop, if bishops were to be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul requires."

The archbishop of course soon heard of this bold speech, and sending immediately for Seyton, "began grievously to complain and sharply to accuse that he had so slanderously

spoken of the dignity of the bishops, as to say that it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock but his own belly. The man, being witty and mindful of that which was his most assured defence, replied: 'My lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars.' Whereat the bishop rejoiced and said, 'Your answer pleases me well. I never could think of you that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things. Where are those knaves that have brought me this tale?' Who compearing and affirming the same that they did before, Seyton still replied that they were liars. At last, while more witnesses were being called, he turned him to the bishop and said, 'My lord, ye may see and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Malachi, and friar Alexander Seyton. In very deed, my lord, I said what Paul says, "It behoveth a bishop to be a teacher." Isaiah saith that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs, and Zechariah saith they are idol pastors. I of my own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced, at whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me. And so yet again, my lord, I say that they are manifest liars that reported unto you that *I* said that ye and others that preach not are no bishops, but belly-gods.'"

This cutting sally of course did not mend the matter. Beaton was highly offended at "the bold liberty of that learned man," and resolved to make him feel the weight of his resentment. The king was young and addicted to criminal pleasure, and it was easy to gain his ear to the disadvantage of so honest and faithful a confessor as Seyton. The primate employed certain grey-friars who had access to the king to accuse his confessor of heresy. James heard the accusation without displeasure. "Yes," said he, "I understand well enough that he smells of the new doctrine, by such things as he has shown to me under confession. I know more of that matter than you do yourselves. I promise you that I

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will follow the counsel of the bishops in punishing him, and all others of that sect." James had already committed himself to the fatal policy which proved his ruin; that of resting for support and counsel upon his clergy more than upon his temporal lords. His resentment against the Douglases and all their abettors disposed him to be unreasonably jealous of the nobility at large, and to look to the prelates as his safest and most trusty councillors. This blind partiality of the king, so opposite to what Lindsay had often advised, armed the Church with great power against the Reformers during the whole of his reign, and we see some of the earliest effects of it in the sufferings of Alesius and Seyton. The Dominican, on being informed of the king's words, saw that he was a doomed man, and, despairing of obtaining a fair hearing of his cause, fled out of the kingdom. From Berwick he sent a messenger to the king with a letter, in which he explained that such was the sole reason of his flight, and offered to return, if the king would assure him that he should have an opportunity of defending himself from the accusations of his enemies. He waited for some time for a reply, but he waited in vain. His letter had been delivered into James's own hand, and had been read by many at court; but what, as Knox observes, "could admonition avail when the pride and corruption of prelates commanded what they pleased, and the flattery of courtiers fostered the insolent prince in all impiety?" Seyton repaired to London, where we shall again meet with him, and remained in exile during the rest of his life.

A third of these early confessors contributed by the monasteries of St. Andrews was Henry Forrest. He was a native of Linlithgow, and graduated at St. Leonard's College in 1526. He had listened to Hamilton's teaching, and had seen him die, and the sole accusation laid against him, not long after, was that he had been heard to say that "Master Patrick died a martyr, and was no heretic." He was long kept a prisoner in the gloomy sea-tower of the castle of St. Andrews, and was at length cruelly condemned to be burnt as

a heretic, "equal in iniquity with Master Patrick." The probable date of his martyrdom was 1532. His pile was kindled on the eminence adjoining the northern stile of the Abbey Church, and that spot was made choice of, in order that the flames might be visible across the mouth of Tay from the shores of Angus. The persecutors disregarded, in the ostentatious publicity of this second auto-da-fé, a warning given them by John Lindsay, "a merry gentleman in the service of archbishop Beaton, that the smoke of Hamilton's pile had infected all upon whom it blew." Lindsay had advised them to burn their next victim in some low vault out of sight, instead of in the open face of day. And he was right. The flame of the martyr's pile, beheld with more admiration than fear, kindles in a thousand souls the holy fire of self-sacrificing zeal. The blazing faggots become the torch of truth to a whole land. "Brother!" cried stout old Latimer at the stake to Ridley, his fellow-martyr, "we light a candle to-day in England which will never again be put out."

Priory Church, St. Andrews

Section 5.—STRUGGLE FOR THE USE OF THE VERNACULAR SCRIPTURES.—1532-34.

"Is not my Word like a fire, saith the Lord, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" Such it had shown itself to be in Scotland since 1526, when Tyndale's New Testament began to circulate through the realm. Fire-like, it had kindled a blaze of religious fervour in the breasts of many

and hammer-like, it had begun to smite with crushing blows the errors and corruptions of the Church. What were the clergy to do? A crisis had come. They must either put down the Word of God, or the Word of God will put down their abuses. They must either frankly accept the teaching of the Bible, and consent to a reformation, or else they must wage open war with the Bible, and endeavour by violence to suppress its testimony. Compelled to choose between these alternatives, the Scottish Bishops did not shrink from the impiety of preferring the latter. In 1532, they published a proclamation, prohibiting the sale, possession, and use of copies of the Scriptures translated into the English or Scottish tongues, and denouncing the censures of the Church on all who should dare to violate the prohibition. This edict has not been recorded by any of our historians, but we have the best evidence of its having been issued in the existence of several controversial tracts of the years 1533 and 1534, which were called forth by that event. Curiously enough, the controversy was waged not in Scotland, but in Germany; and the combatants were Alexander Alesius and John Cochlæus.

After many wanderings, which we cannot here recount, in Denmark, France, Belgium, and Germany, Alexander Alane, or *Alesius*, the *exile* and *wanderer*—for such is the significance of the new name which he now assumed—had at length arrived in Wittemberg towards the end of 1531. He was anxious to study there, at the fountain head, the theology of the Reformation, and to accomplish himself in the Greek and Hebrew languages, a knowledge of which he now felt to be indispensable to an evangelical divine. Attaching himself with peculiar sympathy and affection to Melancthon, he had been admitted to the friendship and familiar intercourse of that distinguished scholar and teacher; and in full possession of all the advantages of a University which was now the best theological school in Europe, he had already made rapid advances in knowledge, when, towards the close of 1532, he had intelligence from Scotland of the publication of the

clergy's wicked edict. The same message brought him tidings of personal wrongs which his persecutors had recently inflicted upon him. They had exhibited articles of heresy against him before the ecclesiastical tribunals, some of which were entirely false, and others much exaggerated; and they had procured sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him, in absence and without a hearing, by which he was degraded from the priesthood, and doomed to perpetual banishment from his country.

He resolved not to be silent under such heavy injuries inflicted upon himself and his fellow-countrymen; and he immediately penned and printed a Latin epistle addressed to the Scottish king, in which he warmly protested against the tyranny of the Bishops, and earnestly entreated the King to come to the succour and defence of his afflicted subjects. He said little in the letter of his own private grievances; he generously threw these into the shade; but he expatiated at considerable length, and with great force of reasoning and eloquence, upon the impiety of debarring the people from access to the vernacular Word of God. What? Make that a crime against the Church, which God has commanded man to do as a duty to Himself and to their own souls? It was a thing unexampled in the whole history of the Church. If such an edict had proceeded from Pagans or Turks, it would not have been surprising; but for men calling themselves Christian bishops, to take out of the mouths of their famishing flocks the very bread of life,—could such men be true pastors of the sheep of Christ? or could the king, who was the father of his people, see such a cruel tyranny perpetrated upon them and not interpose his authority to put a stop to it? Besides, how great would be the benefit and blessing to his subjects, if the Word of God were to be read in every house, and were diligently taught by every parent to his children and household! How else indeed could anxious souls be led into the way of truth and attain to spiritual peace and comfort, than by the study of the Scriptures in their own homes? For the Bishops, whose duty

it was to preach God's Word, were unable or unwilling to preach it; and the friars, to whom they delegated that function, preached nothing but idle and foolish legends, or doctrines which, instead of ministering peace and consolation to the soul, kept it, and were meant to keep it, perpetually in a condition of tormenting doubt and fear.

This eloquent epistle was published at Wittemberg with the author's name, and copies of it were despatched into Scotland by a special messenger.[1] Whether it ever came under the eye of the king himself, we are not informed; but that it reached the hands of his courtiers and chief officers of state is attested by the antagonist whom it instantly brought into the field against its author.

This, as already intimated, was John Cochlæus, the well-known opponent of Luther and Melancthon. He had recently succeeded Emser in his canonry at Meissen, by the favour of Duke George of Saxony, and he repaid the patronage of his zealous prince by a pertinacity of antagonism to the Wittemberg divines, which never suffered his pen to rest for a moment, and by a violence of abuse which defied all the laws of decency and shame. No sooner had he read the epistle of Alesius, than he resolved to answer it in a counter-epistle to the Scottish king. He suspected another hand in the tract than that of the Scottish exile, and he began his reply to it by expressing his doubt whether Alexander Alesius Scotus was not a mere man of straw, and whether the real author was not Philip Melancthon himself, "that Coryphæus of heresy, that architect of lies." Alesius having alluded in his letter to the king's interposition at St. Andrews on his behalf, Cochlæus has the effrontery, while confessing his entire ignorance of the facts, to deny that the king ever *could* have so interposed, inasmuch as such an interference

[1] The title of the epistle is, "Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia quod prohibet legere novi testamenti libros lingua vernacula." At the end is the date 1533. It is extremely rare. Not more than two or three copies of it are known to exist.

with the action of his prelates would have been a stretch of kingly power altogether unbecoming so Christian a prince. At all events, he urged that the bishops had done well and wisely in the publication of the edict. There was nothing contrary to Scripture in an act prohibiting the use of Scripture to the laity. The act was entirely agreeable to the teaching of Scripture itself, which told men to "hear the Church," and to learn wisdom and knowledge from "the priest's lips." Nothing but evil and mischief to Church and State, and to men's immortal souls, could result from the practice of laymen reading the Word of God in their own houses; and every man presuming to interpret it for himself. Such a practice would only make men bad Christians and bad subjects. So it had resulted in Germany, and so it would result in Scotland, if the king took the advice of this apostate exile, and interfered with the pious proceedings of his prudent bishops. The simple truth was, that Alesius, if indeed there was any such person, was a Lutheran, and wanted to make all Scotland Lutherans like himself. But let the king take warning from the example of Germany; what tragedies, what tumults, what lamentable disasters had flowed in that empire from the heresies of one man—that impious apostate, Luther. If the bishops and princes of Germany had only been more watchful and severe at first, the empire would have been spared all these miseries. Their mistaken clemency to one or two bad men had been the cause of calamity and death to thousands. No! let the edict of the bishops remain in full force; let the king confirm, not annul it; and let both king and bishops take care that it does not remain a dead letter. Let them execute the edict with firmness and rigour. The punishment of a few will prevent the perdition of thousands.[1]

Before sending off copies of his epistle for the hands of James and his bishops, Cochlæus took the precaution of fortifying himself with recommendatory letters from King

[1] The title of Cochlæus's tract is, "An expediat laicis legere Novi Testamenti libros in lingua vernacula. Disputatio inter Alexandrum Alesium Scotum et Johannem Cochlæum Germanum." Anno Domini MDXXXIII.

Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V., and from Erasmus. These letters have not been preserved, but the replies of the Scottish king both to Ferdinand and Erasmus are still extant.[1] It is a fact new to history, that Erasmus brought his influence to bear upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland at this crisis; and it is a sad instance of his revolt from a cause which he had once done so much to promote, that he should have given the support of his illustrious name to a writer so virulent and sophistical as Cochlæus, and to an edict so opposite in its spirit to some of his own writings as that of the Scottish bishops.

It was impossible, of course, that Alesius could be silent under such an attack. He lost no time in committing to the press a "Reply to the Calumnies of Cochlæus,"[2] addressed as before to the Scottish king; and in which he enters into a detailed account of all the circumstances which had led to his flight from St. Andrews, in order both to show that he was no man of straw, as Cochlæus had pretended, and to bring out to view the characters of the prelates who were the authors of his misfortunes. These personal incidents and recollections give great historical value to the tract, and throw much light upon the period of the Reformation immediately subsequent to the death of Hamilton. Into the rest of its contents we cannot here enter; it must suffice to state that it contained a renewed and powerful remonstrance against the tyranny of the clergy, a lengthened reply to the reasoning and declamations of Cochlæus in their defence, and a fuller statement than before of the author's views of the need of a comprehensive scheme of ecclesiastical reform.

Cochlæus, however, was determined to have the last word. In August, 1534, he published at Leipzig "An Apology for the Kingdom of Scotland against the masked Scotsman Alexander Alesius."[3] Instead of defending his own good name from the

[1] Copies of them, and of a royal letter to Cochlæus, in the writing of the period, are preserved in the British Museum. Royal MSS. 18, B. vi.

[2] Alexandri Alesii Scoti responsio ad Cochlæi Calumnias.

[3] Pro Scotiæ Regno Apologia Johannis Cochlæi adversus personatum

heavy charges laid against him by his opponent as a calumniator and a sycophant, Cochlæus coolly assumes in this tract the office of defending the fame of the Scottish kingdom against the attacks, as he chooses to regard them, of one of its own citizens. He repeats his assertion that Melancthon is the real author of both the epistles; he upbraids Alesius with putting lies into the mouth of a foreigner to the disadvantage of his native country; and he roundly tells him that he would gladly send him back to Scotland with his hands tied behind his back, to be ignominiously punished as a public slanderer, and a traitor to his country. Alesius's minute narrative of facts avails nothing; Cochlæus pronounces it absurd and incredible, and endeavours to convict him of contradiction in his statements. He forgets, in his excitement, that the king was better able to judge of the truth of the narrative of Alesius than he could pretend to be, and that it would have been extreme folly in Alesius to have laid a false statement on such a subject before the royal eye. Luther, Melancthon, and Alesius are all loaded by turns with violent abuse, and then, in the end, he gravely assures the king that he is so far from feeling any hatred to their persons, that he would willingly travel on foot, and at his own charges, to Rome, or Compostella, to pray for them at the shrines of St. Peter and St. James, if only he could hope to bring them back from their heresy into the unity of the Church.

It was not without an eye to some substantial reward, that Cochlæus volunteered in this violent controversy; and he was not disappointed. The archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow testified their gratitude for his timely and much needed services by sending him liberal presents. The king wrote him a letter—a cotemporary transcript of which is still extant—assuring him of his princely favour; and the lord treasurer dismissed the servant who had brought copies of his first epistle, with a gift of fifty pounds Scots.

As for Alesius, he had no other reward than that of having

Alexandrum Alesium Scotum, ad Serenissimum Scotorum Regem. Ex Dresda Misniæ Idibus Augusti MDXXXIIII.

sowed good seed in the Scottish soil, which afterwards bore abundant fruit. He got no redress from the king of his personal wrongs. He demanded a hearing for his cause in vain. He was allowed to continue unavenged in unjust exile. But he had earned for himself the glory of being the first Scotsman who stood forth to defend by argument and learning the Christian right of his countrymen to read the Word of God in their mother tongue. Nor does it diminish in the least the honour of such a service, that in rendering it he availed himself of the assistance of his great master Philip Melancthon. Cochlæus uttered a calumny when he asserted over and over again that Melancthon, and not Alesius, was the author of these epistles. But he would not have exceeded the truth, if he had been contented with alleging that Alesius had had the advantage of Melancthon's aid. It is not difficult to discover in these tracts occasional traces of that elegant pen which was the admiration of all Europe, and to the rhetorical power of which even Cochlæus is compelled to do homage. It was no unusual thing for Melancthon to look over the Latin compositions of his friends, and to put in touches here and there, before they were recited in public, or committed to the press. Melancthon, as well as Erasmus, bore a part in this long-forgotten but justly memorable struggle. While the scholar of Basle gave his support to Cochlæus, the scholar of Wittemberg lent a helping hand to Alesius; and it is certainly a remarkable instance of the important omissions of historians, that neither of these two illustrious names has ever been named before in the history of the Scottish Reformation.[1]

[1] The learned Strobelius, in his "Neue Beyträge zur Geschichte, &c." vol. i. p. 145, has a catalogue of writings in which Melancthon took part, "woran Melancthon Antheil hatte," which includes both the epistles of Alesius above referred to. The participation of Melancthon in the authorship was denied by the late Rev. Christopher Anderson in his "Annals of the English Bible," but erroneously. Mr. Anderson, however, was the first to call public attention to these interesting tracts.

Monastery of Inch Colme.

Section 6. Persecutions and Martyrdoms. 1534—39.

While Lindsay, Seyton, and Alesius were striving to gain over the young King of Scots to the side of religious reform, he was solicited, on the other side, by advocates far more powerful and prevailing, to remain steadfast in his attachment to the Court of Rome. Between 1532 and 1534 two important embassies arrived at the Scottish court—Silvester Darius from the Pope, and Eric Godschalkus from the

Emperor Charles V. The Pope, foreseeing trouble from Henry VIII., was anxious to make sure of the fidelity of his Scottish nephew; and his legate had authority to grant to the king's use for three years, "the tenth penny of all the benefices of the realm above the annual value of twenty pounds." The emperor's ambassador was the bearer of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and came with proposals to the Scottish king to join with the emperor and the other Catholic princes of Europe in a league, which had for its object the extinction of heresy, and the assembling of a general council to correct the disorders of the Church. To such powerful suitors it was difficult to say no. The king honourably dismissed Godschalkus with letters to the emperor, in which he assured him of his readiness to unite in the proposed league; and Silvester Darius had the satisfaction of seeing severe measures adopted for the suppression of the Lutherans before he left Scotland on his return to Rome.[1]

In 1532 "there was a great abjuration of the favourers of Martin Luther in the abbey of Holyrood House;"[2] but the particulars of this solemn assize have not been preserved. In May, 1534, the king wrote from Aberdeen to the lords of council in Edinburgh, calling their attention to "divers tractates and books translated out of Latin into the Scottish tongue by favourers of the sect of Luther, which were sent to various parts of the realm; whereupon, the lords passed stringent orders for the destruction of all such books, and for the punishing of all suspected persons." These translated books very probably included copies of the Epistles of Alesius.

In August, 1534, the tribunal of heresy was again constituted in Holyrood with circumstances of peculiar solemnity. The number of the accused and the summoned was very

[1] Several letters relating to this embassy from Charles V. are preserved in an imperfect state in Royal MSS. 18, B. vi. in the British Museum. They have not been noticed by our ecclesiastical historians.

[2] Diurnal of occurrents, p. 15.

great, and the king himself was present, wearing his scarlet robe as great justiciar of the realm. Of the accused, some took refuge in England before the day of trial, and were condemned, in absence, to banishment, and the forfeiture of all their lands and goods. Among these was Sir James Hamilton, the brother of the martyr. He had applied to the king for protection, but James declined to interfere with the action of the Church, and advised him to save his life by flight. His sister, Catharine Hamilton, appeared before the tribunal and defended herself with spirit and ability. The king was much amused and pleased with her replies to the Church-lawyers, and, taking her aside, was able to persuade her by fair words to promise submission to the Church. But there were other two of the accused who were not so easily persuaded. These were Norman Gourlay, a secular priest, and David Stratoun, a gentleman of the house of Lauriston in the Mearns. Gourlay had studied for some time in Germany, and had returned home professing the dangerous doctrine that the Pope was Antichrist, and had no right to exercise jurisdiction in Scotland. Stratoun had declared that there was no other Purgatory but the Passion of Christ and the tribulations of this world; and had, moreover, given offence to his bishop by the refusal of some part of his tithe. The king entreated them to abjure, but they both stood firm to their testimony. When sentence was pronounced upon Stratoun, he implored the king to remit it by virtue of his royal prerogative; but James turned a deaf ear to his appeal, and acquiesced by his silence in the proud answer of the bishops, "that the king had no grace to give to such as were condemned by their law." On the 27th of August, both Gourlay and Stratoun were led to the stake at the Rood of Greenside; and Edinburgh saw on that day, for the first time, a tragical sight which she was destined to see often repeated, before the sufferings of the nation should work out its final emancipation from Papal bondage.

For a few years after this cruel auto-da-fé, the fury of perse-

cution somewhat abated. In the Parliament of 1535, indeed, the Act of 1525 against heresy was made greatly more stringent by the addition of the following clause, "That none of the king's lieges have, use, keep, or conceal any book of the said heretics, or containing their doctrine and opinions; but that they deliver the same to their ordinaries within forty days, under the pains aforesaid." But another Act of this Parliament showed that the king was fully sensible of the existence of abuses in the Church; and, though still resolved to oppose the progress of doctrines deemed heretical by the clergy, had serious intentions of pressing for the reform of some, at least, of the more flagrant ecclesiastical disorders. This Act provided for the assembling of a provincial council in the following year, with or without the consent of the primate—a provision which gave great offence to the prelates. When the council met in March, 1536, the articles put before it by the king were found to affect very seriously the temporalities of the clergy. He demanded that "the corpse-present" and "the upmost cloth" should be disused all over Scotland, and that the amount levied in teind or tithe, should be greatly reduced; and he sent them a threatening message from Crawford-John in Clydesdale, where he was hunting at the time, to tell them "that if they granted not his demands, he would compel them to feu the whole of the Church lands, and to receive for them no more than at the rate of the old rentals." "The Kirkmen of Scotland," wrote the Earl of Angus to his brother, Sir George Douglas,[1] "were never so evil content, and the news is now through all Scotland that the kings will meet;" alluding to the interview between James and his uncle, Henry VIII., which the latter was now pressing for very earnestly, and which the bishops had hitherto been able to prevent. How this dispute was composed is not known. All that is recorded of the action

[1] State Papers—Henry VIII.—Scottish, vol. iv. p. 666, where the letter is erroneously entered under 1534, but is afterwards referred to 1536, vol. v. p. 36.

of the council is, "that they adopted certain acts and statutes, made before by a commission of the Pope's honour, with some additions."[1] It is certain that the ecclesiastical reforms which the king demanded were not carried out, and the only gain which accrued to the cause of truth was, that the persecuted Lutherans enjoyed a short breathing-time while the quarrel lasted.

At the time when this council was sitting in the Black Friars of Edinburgh, Lord William Howard and Bishop Barlow, the ambassadors of Henry VIII., were using every persuasion to induce the Scottish king to consent to a personal interview with their royal master at York. In 1535, Henry had finally broken with Rome, and was now anxious that his nephew should follow his example. It was of the utmost consequence to the safety of England that Scotland should be detached from the alliance of the great Catholic powers of the Continent;—an alliance which, as we have seen, those powers were quite as anxious to maintain and draw as close as possible. The moment was a critical one for the Scottish clergy, and we need not be surprised to learn that they strained every nerve to thwart the designs of the apostate king. Their pulpits rang with denunciations of his impiety; they declaimed against what they called "the heresies of England," even in the presence of the English ambassadors, and Barlow's irritation betrays itself in the bitterness of his letters. "In all points," says he to Cromwell, "they show themselves to be the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil. Their lying friars cease not in their sermons—we being present—blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us which have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore, in confutation of their detestable lies, if I may obtain the king's license to preach (otherwise shall I not be suffered), I will not spare for no bodily peril, boldly to publish the truth of God's word among them: whereat though

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, sub anno 1536.

the clergy shall repine, yet many of the lay people will gladly give hearing." The embassy came to nothing. If James had to complain of the stubbornness of his clergy in resisting all concession, on the one hand, he had no wish to be dragged into open war with the Roman see by his too urgent and imperious uncle, on the other. He had recourse to dissimulation—the common weapon of weakness when contending with strength. He made professions of a willingness to meet Henry's wishes which he did not feel, and promises of meeting which he had no intention to keep. The court was weary of the embassy, and the embassy was weary of the court. "It shall be no more displeasant for me to depart," cried the angry Bishop of St. David's, "than it was for Lot to pass out of Sodom."[1]

In the latter half of 1536, and the following year, James was wholly taken up with his marriage to Princess Magdalene of France; and David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, the prime instigator of persecution, was too busy in Paris, as the king's ambassador, with the marriage negotiation, to be able to pay much attention to ecclesiastical affairs. But that able and energetic Churchman had no sooner returned to the kingdom in the train of his royal master, than the flames of persecution broke out afresh with redoubled fury. His promotion in the Church became now exceedingly rapid, and he was able to launch against her enemies all her thunders. On the 5th of December, 1538, he was appointed coadjutor to his aged uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews. On the 20th of the same month he was promoted to be a cardinal, under the title of St. Stephen in Monte Caelio; and in the autumn of 1539, upon the death of the archbishop, he succeeded him in the primacy. Armed with all the influence and power of these high offices, and resolved to accomplish the complete extirpation of heresy, he made the years 1539 and 1540 the darkest in the persecuting annals of the Papal Church of Scotland.

[1] State Papers, vol. v. pp. 37, 52.

Despairing of impunity any longer, a great number of the adherents of the new opinions took refuge in England. "Daily," says Norfolk to Cromwell, in March, 1530, "cometh unto me some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of Scripture in English; saying, that if they were taken they should be put to execution." Large numbers of the wealthy burgesses of the country were stripped of their lands and possessions, even after they had abjured; among whom the burgesses of Dundee are especially conspicuous. The Rollocks, the Wedderburns, the Annands, and the Lovetts of that ancient burgh suffered severely for their zeal in the cause of Reform; "in their gude fame, heritages, lands, goods, and worldly honours." Nor was the good town of Stirling far behind Dundee in the same race of Christian glory. She had less wealth to resign to God's cause than the thriving port of Dundee; but she brought to the altar a larger offering of saintly blood. On the 1st of March, 1539, no fewer than four of her citizens were burned at one pile on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. These were John Keillor and John Beverage, Black Friars; Duncan Simpson, a secular priest; and Robert Forrester, a gentleman of the house of Arngibbon.

On the same day, and at the same stake, perished one of the most sainted and interesting of Scotland's long list of martyrs —Thomas Forret, Dean of the Augustinian Abbey of Inchcomb, and Vicar of Dollar. He was of gentle birth, of the house of Forret in Fife, and was educated in the schools of Cologne. When he entered the Abbey he was a zealous Romanist; but the reading of a volume of Augustine was the means of opening his eyes. "Oh, happy and blessed was that book!" he would often afterwards exclaim. He converted all the younger canons of the monastery, but "the old bottles," he said, "would not receive the new wine." When he was made Vicar of Dollar he became a perfect model of a parish priest. "He taught his flock the ten commandments, and showed them the way of their salvation to be only by the blood of Christ. He

penned a little catechism, which he caused a poor child to answer him, to allure the hearts of the hearers to embrace the truth, which indeed converted many in the country about. When the pardoners would come to his kirk to offer pardon for money, he would say, 'Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you: there is no pardon of our sins that can come to us from Pope or any other, but only by the blood of Jesus Christ.' When he visited any sick person in the parish that was poor, he would carry bread and cheese in his gown sleeve to him, and give him silver out of his purse, and feed his soul with the bread of life. He preached every Sunday to his parishioners the Epistle or Gospel, as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland to see any man preach except a Black Friar or a Gray Friar."

If any man's goodness could have made Beaton falter in his persecuting purpose, it would have been the gentle and engaging goodness of Dean Thomas Forret. Again and again this worthy canon and parish priest had been examined by his own bishop, George Crichton of Dunkeld, and by Archbishop James Beaton, and had been as often sent back to his flock with words of kindly warning. They knew and appreciated his works of piety and love, though they blamed what they called his foolish fantasies. But the cardinal was a man of another mould. His fierce eye could see in the good vicar only a dangerous enemy to the Church, and all the more dangerous that he was so good. Sitting upon the judgment-seat at Holyrood, Beaton doomed him to death "without any place of recantation, because he was a heresiarch—a chief heretic and teacher of heresies."

The death of such a man could not be less edifying than his life. Long before the end came, and while he was yet living in the quiet cloister of Inchcomb, when his abbot would have had him "to say as other people say," and to keep his mind to himself, and save himself, he had used the martyr-like words, "I thank your lordship; ye are a friend to my

body, but not to my soul. But, before I deny a word which I have spoken, ye shall see this body of mine blow away first with the wind in ashes." At last the day of trial came, which he had long foreseen, and his words were not belied by the event. Calmly strong in the strength of God, his heart neither fainted nor failed. At the last moment, Friar Hardbuckel came up to the stake, and tempted him to recant his confession: "Say, I believe in our lady," cried the friar. "I believe," he replied, "as our lady believeth." "Say," rejoined the tempter, "I believe in God and our lady." "Cease," said he, "tempt me not; I know what I should say as well as ye, thanks be to God." He had to endure, what few martyrs have had to suffer, an utter want of sympathy on the part of the spectators of his martyrdom; for when one of the executioners drew the New Testament out of his bosom, and held it up to the people, crying, "Heresy, heresy!" the people, as fanatically cruel as their bishops, cried out; "Burn him, burn him!" His last words were, "God be merciful to me a sinner: Lord Jesus receive my spirit. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam." "Thus ended," says Knox, "this faithful servant of God; envied by the clergy for his good life, diligent preaching of the word, and sparing the cow and uppermost cloth."[1]

The thirst of heretical blood is not easily slaked. Even this immolation at Edinburgh, of five victims in one day, was not enough to satisfy the cruel Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was impatient of the greater moderation of Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and sent three of his myrmidons to the west to urge on his brother prelate to similar deeds of blood. Dunbar was disinclined to measures of extreme severity, but he was inferior to the cardinal in strength of will. He yielded to the pressure which was brought to bear upon him,

[1] At the death of a parishioner the clergy were entitled to demand a cow and a coverlet from the family, which was a cruel tax upon a poor man's widow and orphans.

and ordered the apprehension of Jerome Russel, a Cordelier friar, and a young man named Kennedy of the town of Ayr, "who was of excellent genius in Scottish poesy." When they were brought to the bar of his tribunal, Dunbar's heart relented at the sight of their youth, and he declared to his assessors that he thought it better to spare them than to put them to death. But Lauder, Oliphant, and Maltman were not to be thus defrauded of their prey when it was already in their grasp. "What will ye do, my lord?" they exclaimed, "will ye condemn all that my lord cardinal, and the other bishops, and we have done? If so ye do, ye show yourself enemy to the kirk and us, and so we will report you, be ye assured." "At which words," adds Knox in his history, with just indignation, "the faithless man effrayed, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked." Led forth to the stake, "the meek and gentle Jerome Russel comforted the other with many comfortable sentences, oft saying unto him, 'Brother, fear not; more potent is He that is with us, than is he that is in the world. The pain that we shall suffer is short and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have ending, and therefore let us contend to enter in unto our Master and Saviour by the same strait way that He has trod before us. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by Him for whose sake we suffer.' With these and the like comfortable sentences they passed to the place of execution, and constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire."

Cambuskenneth and Stirling.

Section 7. Scottish Reformers in England. 1534—1540.

Many of the victims of these persecutions, as we have seen, took refuge in England. Let us follow them thither, and we shall find that many of them repaid the hospitality which they received in their exile, by rendering important services to the early reformation of the English Church. It is not generally known how very early, and in how many instances, and in

what important posts the Scottish reformers had an opportunity of aiding the efforts of their English brethren in diffusing a knowledge of the Gospel among all ranks and classes of the people of England.

The first of these numerous refugees was Alexander Seyton, whose exile, as we before saw, commenced as early as 1530 or 1531. He lived ten years in England, during which he became a popular occasional preacher in several of the churches of London, and was taken into the family of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law of Henry VIII., in the capacity of domestic chaplain. In 1541, his eminence and influence as a Protestant teacher drew upon him the persecution of Bishop Gardiner, who succeeded in inducing him to make a public recantation of some points of his doctrine at St. Paul's Cross; and he died in the house of his noble patron the following year.

He was succeeded in his influential post by another Scottish refugee, John Willock; who had been a Dominican friar in the monastery of Ayr, and was driven into exile in 1534. He, too, was a favourite preacher in the churches of London, where he went by the name of the Scottish friar, and was held in high esteem by the reforming bishops and royal chaplains of Edward VI. At one time we find him preaching to the rude soldiers of the Duke of Suffolk in the north of England; at another time enjoying the learned society of the doctors of Oxford. He preached by turns in the court, the mansion, the city, and the camp. He was no doubt one of the religious instructors of the accomplished and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Duke. He remained in England till the accession of Mary, when persecution obliged him to seek refuge on the Continent; where he found a new patron in the Duchess of Friesland, to whom he recommended himself by his skill in physic.

In the same year, 1534, were driven across the border two other remarkable men, John McAlpin, and John McDowal, both friars, like Seyton and Willock, of the Dominican order.

McAlpin was of a respectable highland family, and after being educated at Cologne, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he entered the monastery of the Black Friars in Perth. In 1532, he rose to be prior of his house, and soon after fell under suspicion of heresy. Having escaped into England, he conciliated by his talents and learning the favour of Nicholas Shaxton, the first Protestant Bishop of Salisbury, who made him a prebendary of his cathedral, and rector of the parish of Bishopstowe in Wiltshire. Here he laboured for some years, and was probably the first preacher of the Reformation in that part of England. Having married an English lady, the sister of the wife of Coverdale, his position became one of great peril in 1540, under the severe statute of the six articles, one of which was directed against married priests; and he fled into Germany, where we shall meet with him again in a subsequent part of our narrative.

John McDowal had been sub-prior of the Dominicans of Glasgow in 1530, and was incorporated in the same year with the university of that city—a fact which, in a friar, may be taken as a proof of his intellectual activity and love of learning. Sharing the exile of McAlpin, he shared also with him the friendship of the Bishop of Salisbury, who made him his chaplain, and sent him down to Salisbury in 1537, to preach in the pulpit of the cathedral against the supremacy of the Pope, and in favour of the changes recently introduced by the king. McDowal, in fact, was the first preacher of the Reformation in that city; and he was roughly handled by all parties there for the zeal he displayed in executing his invidious commission. Neither the king's name nor the bishop's authority could protect him from the wrath of the cathedral clergy and the city magistrates. He was apprehended and thrown into prison; and several letters are still extant which he wrote from the city-goal to Shaxton and Lord Cromwell, in which he informed them of the hard usage which had befallen him at the hands of a people who were still too blindly loyal to the Pope to remember their duty

either to their king or bishop. He remained in England till 1540, when he sought refuge in Germany.

During the severe persecutions of 1539 and 1540, the men of mark who fled from Scotland into England were numerous; including Gavyn Logie, principal regent of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, and John Fife, a canon of the priory; Andrew Charters of Dundee, a Charterhouse friar, and John Lyne, a Franciscan; Thomas Cocklaw, John Richardson, Robert Richardson, and Robert Logie, all canons of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth; and George Wishart of Montrose, Florence Wilson of Elgin, and George Buchanan, tutor to the king's sons—all distinguished for their love of classical literature and learning. Buchanan and Wilson, or Volusenus, made no long stay in England, but preferred to seek a refuge among the elegant scholars of France. Of Wishart we shall have to speak in a subsequent chapter, and of the fortunes of most of the rest we know little or nothing. But of Robert Richardson there are still remaining three letters in the Cromwell Correspondence, from which it appears that in 1535 and 1536 he was employed by Lord Cromwell, who was then Vicar-General of Henry VIII. as well as Secretary of State, as a Protestant preacher; that he preached occasionally at St. Paul's Cross; and that he was sent down to Lincolnshire and other disturbed parts of England to preach against the Pope's supremacy to the common people, who were in danger of being stirred up into sedition by the agents of Aske's rebellion.

But of all the Scottish exiles then resident in England, the most prominent and influential was Alexander Alesius. Having come over from Germany in 1535, upon encouragement given him by the English agents of Henry VIII. who visited Saxony in that year to negotiate with the evangelical princes of the empire, he was warmly welcomed by Cranmer, to whom he brought a letter of introduction from Melancthon, along with a copy of his celebrated work, the "Loci Communes." By Cranmer he was introduced to Cromwell, and by the good offices of both he was brought under the notice of the king, to

whose favour Melancthon had also recommended him. Henry was pleased with the Wittemberg divine, made him "King's scholar," and instructed Cromwell, who had just then been appointed Chancellor of Cambridge in the room of Bishop Fisher, to send him down to that university as a reader in divinity. Along with this honourable appointment, he received a salary out of Cromwell's privy purse of twenty pounds per annum, which was then a liberal allowance. He went into residence at Queen's College towards the end of 1535, and commenced a series of lectures in the public schools of the university on the Hebrew Psalter. He was probably the first man who ever delivered lectures in Cambridge upon the original Scriptures. But he was not suffered to continue his labours long. The disciple of the Wittemberg Reformers was too far in advance of the doctors of Cambridge. It soon began to be understood that he was a Lutheran, and that it was by the recommendation of Melancthon himself that he had obtained the favour of the king and chancellor. Heresy was speedily detected in his teaching, and he was publicly challenged to defend himself against that charge. He accepted the challenge, and on the day fixed for the disputation, he awaited in the public schools the arrival of his opponent. But the opponent failed to appear. He preferred the safer course of plotting against him and fomenting a tumult, to the danger of meeting so skilful a dialectician in a scholastic conflict. Alesius was informed by his friends that his life was threatened, and appealed to the vice-chancellor to protect him in the exercise of his public duty. But the vice-chancellor, who was himself a Papist, declined to interfere or to give him any guarantee. He left Alesius exposed to the malice of his enemies. A foreigner, a Wittemberger, and the nominee of the new chancellor, who was unpopular in Cambridge (for the university was still lamenting the fall of Fisher), the position of the king's reader in divinity was one of great peril; and in the present temper of the university, which was disgusted with the king's new ecclesiastical policy, he had but a poor prospect of official usefulness, even if he might have been sure of his personal safety. He was

compelled to yield to the necessity of the time, and to return to London after less than a year's residence in the university.

As he still continued, however, in the service of Cromwell, his powerful patron had soon another opportunity of employing his remarkable learning and talents. In 1536 or 1537, there was a convocation or conference of the bishops assembled at Westminster to discuss some theological questions, which had been submitted to them by the king. Cromwell, as vicar-general, presided in the conference and managed the debates. On his way, one day, to the place of meeting, he chanced to fall in with Alesius in the street, and invited him to accompany him and take part in the discussion. The question in dispute happened to be the number of the sacraments; and after a prologue by Cromwell, who sat at the head of the table, the debate began with an address from Cranmer, the archbishop, who recommended to the bishops a close adherence in the discussion to the Word of God, as the only authentative standard in religious controversies. But it was only a few of the bishops who were of Cranmer's mind: John Stokesley, Bishop of London, followed on the opposite side, and contended for the seven sacraments of Rome, on the joint authority of Scripture and tradition. Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, spoke next, and animadverted severely upon the reasonings of Stokesley, as a relapse to the old scholastic method of arguing such questions, which both the king and his vicar-general had counselled them to abstain from upon that occasion. It was at this point of the debate that Cromwell brought in the assistance of Alesius. He introduced him honourably to the assembly, as a man of piety and learning; and Alesius proceeded, with equal modesty and ability, to deliver his opinion. The validity of a sacrament, he urged, depended upon the promise of God's grace being attached to it: the promise of God's grace could only be found in God's own word; the authority of the Scriptures was the only true and infallible standard of faith, and tried by that authority, the seven sacraments of Rome could not be sustained. Before Alesius had finished his argument, the

hour of adjournment had arrived, and Cromwell requested him to stop, promising that he should be heard again on the following day. But Stokesley and the other popish bishops, smarting under the strokes of his logic, remonstrated so warmly with Cranmer against the irregularity of bringing in a stranger and foreigner to take part in their debates, that the archbishop was obliged to make a representation to Cromwell upon the subject; and the latter, not caring to increase the irritation of the popish party by pressing the point, contented himself with requesting Alesius to commit his whole argument to writing, and undertook to bring it in that form under the notice of the bishops. This argument the author afterwards published in Latin, with a dedication to John Frederick, Elector of Saxony; and the work was so much esteemed by the English Protestant divines, as a demonstration of the sole authority of the Word of God in matters of faith, that it was translated into English by one of them for popular use.[1]

Alesius employed himself in London for several years in the practice of medicine, which he had probably studied at Wittemburg; but having married during these years, the statute of the six articles compelled him, in 1540, to consult his safety, and that of his family, by a hurried retreat to the Continent. He left at the same time, and probably in company, with his countrymen, John McAlpin and John Fyfe, and all three experienced a warm and hospitable welcome from Alesius's old friends at Wittemberg.

Thus early in the history of the Reformation began a series of reciprocal good offices between the two British kingdoms, which continued for many subsequent years, and which ended in consolidating and securing the foundations of the Reformed Church in both parts of the Island.

1 "On the auctorite of the Word of God agaynst the bisshop of London, wherein are contayned certain disputacyons had in the parliament howse betwene the bishops about the number of the sacraments, and other things very necessary to be known, made by Alexander Alane Scot, and sent to the Duke of Saxon." The translator is said to have been Edmund Allen, who was made a bishop by Queen Elizabeth.

Linlithgow Palace.

Section 8. SIR DAVID LINDSAY, AND THE SATIRE OF THE THREE ESTATES. 1539—40.

WHEN so many men of learning and genius were driven into exile by the unsparing hand of the resolute cardinal; when even the celebrated tutor of the king's sons was deprived of his liberty and put in jeopardy of his life, for the crime of penning a few Latin iambics against the Franciscans, although he could plead that he had done so at the king's own

command; who could have expected that Sir David Lindsay, who had offended so much more heinously in the same way, would be suffered to remain in the unmolested enjoyment of all his emoluments and honours?

And yet such was the fact. Nothing but the king's warm attachment to him can account for it. If he had preserved a judicious silence while danger was imminent, the wonder would have been less. But his muse was as fearless as she was fertile. While persecution was raging all around him, he continued to exhaust upon the corruptions of the Church all the weapons of his ridicule and satire.

Nor was he content with lashing what was evil in the Church's teaching and practice. As his own views of divine truth and apostolic order went on ripening into full conviction, he freely communicated them in the same pieces in which he attacked the superstitions, and immoralities, and oppressions of the clergy. He was not only a satirist, but a preacher. When it was no longer safe for men to preach the truth in prose, he became an evangelist in rhyme; and when Beaton had succeeded in ridding himself of almost every Lutheran divine in the country, either by banishment or the stake, Lindsay still remained outstanding in the double character of poet and theologian; as able to instruct the court and the country in Gospel truth, as to amuse them at the expense of the errors of the Church.

It must have been about this time that Lindsay wrote the piece called "Kitty's Confession," which is as sound in its theology as it is severe in its satire, and which was well fitted to be popular among the common people, and none the less so for an occasional coarseness in its allusions and language.

> "The curate Kitty could confess,
> And she told on, baith more and less.
> Quoth he, ken ye na heresie?
> I wait nocht what that is, quoth she;
> Quoth he, heard ye na Inglis books?[1]
> Quoth she, my maister on them looks.

[1] An allusion to Tyndale's Testament.

Quoth he, the bishop that shall knaw,
For I am sworn that for to shaw.
Quoth he, what said he of the king?
Quoth she, of good he spak na thing.
Quoth he, his grace of that sall wit,
And he sall lose his life for it."

The theological and pastoral shortcomings of the father-confessor are thus set forth :—

"He schew me nocht of Godd-is Word,
Whilk sharper is than any sword,
And deep intil[1] our heart does prent
Our sin, wherethrough we do repent.
He put me nathing into fear,
Wherethrough I should my sin forbear;
Of Christ-is blood nathing he knew,
Nor of his promises full true,
That savis all that will believe,
That Satan sall us never grieve.
He techit me nocht for till[2] traist
The comfort of the Haly Ghaist.
He bad me nocht to Christ be kind,
To keep his law with heart and mind,
And lufe and thank his great mercie,
Fra sin and hell that savit me,
And lufe my neighbour as mysel;
Of this nathing he could me tell,
But gave me penance ilk ane day,
And Ave Marie for to say;
And with ane plack to buy ane mess
Fra drunken Sir John Latinless."

Of Lindsay's rhyming preaching the following is a fair specimen.

"To the great God omnipotent,
Confess thy sin, and sore repent,
And traist in Christ, as wrytis Paul,
Whilk shed his blood to saif thy saul,

[1] Into. [2] To trust.

For nane can thee absolve but he,
Nor tak away thy sin from thee.
Gif of gude counsall thou hes nede,
Or hes nocht leirnit weill thy crede,
Or wicket vices reign in thee,
The whilk thou can nocht mortifie,
Or be in desperation,
Then to ane preacher true thou pass,
And shaw thy sin and thy trespass.
Thar neid-is nocht to shaw him all,
Nor tell thy sins baith great and small,
Whilk is impossible to be ;
But shaw the vice that troubles thee ;
And he sall of thy saul have ruth
And thee instruct into the truth,
And with the word of veritie
Sall comfort and sall counsel thee :
The sacraments shaw thee at lenth,
Thy little faith to stark and strenth ;
And how thou suld them rightly use,
And all hypocrisy refuse.
Confession first was ordain't free,
In this sort in the kirk to be.
Swa to confess, as I descryve,
Was in the gude kirk primitive."

But "Kitty's Confession," and all the rest of Lindsay's satires, were thrown into the shade by a work upon which he was now engaged, and which was soon to see the light. This was the morality, or drama, entitled, "Ane Plesant Satyre of the Three Estates, in Commendation of Vertue and Vituperation of Vice;" or, as it was sometimes called, "The Parliament of Correction." He had been for some years employed upon it, and one of his biographers conjectures that he had exhibited it, in its first form, at Cupar, as early as the year 1535. But, however this may be, it is certain that Lindsay had the king's authority and licence to exhibit a performance of it at Linlithgow during the Feast of Epiphany, at the beginning of the year 1540. It had long been the custom of

the Scottish court to amuse itself with plays and moralities at that festive season, and for several years Lindsay had been the manager of these courtly diversions—a function for which he was peculiarly fitted by his tastes as a poet, and as lion-herald. But on the present occasion, instead of reproducing one of the old moralities, or imitating the new-fashioned "interludes" which were so much admired in the courts of England and France, he produced an original piece, which, improving immensely upon his predecessors, was the nearest approximation that had yet been made to the regular drama of later times.

The great hall of the palace of Linlithgow was probably the theatre made use of on this occasion; and the dramatist had for his spectators and audience the king and queen, the court and council, and a select circle of nobles, gentry, and burgesses from the ancient burgh and all the country round. Several of the bishops themselves were present, and were obliged in courtesy to the king to laugh with as good a grace as possible at the poet's humorous exposure of the corruptions of the ecclesiastical estate.

Fortunately there was present at the performance a Scottish correspondent of the English border commissioner, Sir William Eure, who sent him immediately after a written account of the piece. This curious document is still extant, and runs as follows:—

"In the first entres came in Solace (whose part was but to make merry, sing ballads with his fellows, and drink at the interludes of the play), who showed first to all the audience the play to be played, which was a general thing, meaning nothing in special to displease no man, praying therefore no man to be angry with the same. Next came in a King, who passed to his throne, having no speech to the end of the play, and then to ratify and approve, as in plain parliament, all things done by the rest of the players, which represented the Three Estates. With him came his courtiers, Placebo, Pikthank, and Flattery, and such a like guard. Thereafter came

a man armed in harness, with a sword drawn in his hand, a Bishop, a Burgessman, and Experience clad like a Doctor, who sat them all down on the dais under the King. After them came in a poor man, who did go up and down the scaffold making a heavy complaint that he was heryed through the courtiers taking his fee in one place, and afterwards his tacks in another place, wherethrough he had scayled his house, his wife and children begging their bread, and so of many thousands in Scotland, which would make the King's Grace lose of men, if his Grace stood in need. Saying there was no remedy to be gotten, for though he would suit to the King's Grace, he was neither acquainted with Controller nor Treasurer, and without them might no man get no goodness of the King. . . . . And then he looked to the King and said he had left one thing undone, which pertained as well to his charge as the other. And when he was asked what that was, he made a long narration of the oppression of the poor by the taking of the corpse-present beasts, and of the herying of poor men by the Consistory law, and of many other abusions of the spiritualty and Church, with many long stories and authorities. And then the Bishop rose and rebuked him, saying, it effeired not to him to speak such matters, commanding to him silence, or else to suffer death for it by their law. Thereafter rose the Man of arms, alledging the contrary, and commanded the poor man to speak, saying their abusion had been overlong suffered without any law. Then the poor man showed the great abusion of Bishops, Prelates, Abbotts, reving men's wives and daughters, and holding them; and of the maintaining of their children; and of their overbuying of the eldest sons of lords and barons to their daughters, wherethrough the nobility of the blood of the realm was degenerate; and of the great superfluous rents that pertained to the Church by reason of overmuch temporal lands given to them, which the King might take both by the canon law and the civil law. And of the great abominable vices that reign in cloisters, and of the common bordells that

were kept in cloisters of nuns. All this was proved by Experience, and also was showed the office of a bishop, and was producit the New Testament with the authorities to that effect. And then rose the Man of arms and the Burgess, and did say, that all that was produced by the poor man and Experience was reasonable, of verity, and of great effect; and very expedient to be reformed with the consent of Parliament. And the Bishop said he would not consent thereunto; the Man of arms and the Burgess said, they were two, and he but one, wherefore their voice should have most effect. Thereafter the King in the play ratified, approved, and confirmed all that was rehearsed."[1]

Such was the ingenious and striking way in which Lindsay brought before the king and his court and council the need of religious reform, and shadowed forth the kind of reformation which he desired to see accomplished; and we are happily able to report, upon an authority equally good, the effect which the piece produced upon the mind of the king. Sir Thomas Bellenden, one of the king's council, was present at the performance, and informed Sir William Eure a few weeks afterwards, in a personal interview at Coldstream, that "after the said interlude was finished, the King of Scots did call upon the Bishop of Glasgow, being chancellor, and divers other bishops, exhorting them to reform their fashions and manners of living; saying, that unless they so did, he would send ten of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England, and as those were ordered,[2] so he would order all the rest that would not amend. And thereunto the chancellor should answer and say unto the king, that 'one word of his grace's mouth should suffice them to be at commandment.' And the king hastily and angrily answered that he would gladly bestow any words of

[1] We have preferred to quote the above description of the performance as it took place in 1540, rather than to give the reader any account of the drama as it now stands, because it is evident from that description that the work afterwards underwent great alterations.

[2] Handled.

his mouth that could amend them." "I am also advertised by the same Mr. Bellenden," continued Sir William Eure, "that the King of Scots is fully minded to expel all spiritual men from having any authority of office under his grace, either in household or elsewhere within the realm, and daily studieth and deviseth for that intent."[1]

Seldom has a poet or a dramatist had greater success than Lindsay commanded on this remarkable occasion. The king was deeply impressed; the reforming party in his council had their hands greatly strengthened; and the bishops were fain to promise to their angry sovereign that they should be at his commandment. It seemed for a while as if a reformation was now at hand, and that James would at length be impelled by his sense of kingly duty to imitate the policy of his uncle, Henry VIII. Only one thing was wanting to make the triumph of the Poet-Reformer complete; and that was the presence and humiliation of the cardinal. But Beaton, ever full of weighty affairs, was absent from the pastimes of the court on this occasion, and was spared the mortification of seeing Lindsay's success, and of listening to the rebuke of the king. At that very time he was in busy correspondence with his agents at Rome, and with the managers of the Vatican, to obtain the enormous powers of a legate *a latere*, in addition to all the power he already possessed as primate, cardinal, and legatus *natus;* and, strange to say, the king was supporting him in his negotiation by letters to the Pope in his behalf. It is very puzzling to find that while James was holding such language to his bishops at Linlithgow, and was canvassing such designs as Bellenden speaks of among the laymen of his council, he could yet have authorized or warranted Beaton to speak of his views and wishes in such terms as the following. "We assure you," says he to Master Andrew Oliphant, his agent at Rome, "the king's grace has this

[1] State Papers, vol. v. p. 169, Letter of Eure to Cromwell, dated 26th January, 1540.

matter right high in head and mind, for the common weal of this realm and subjects, and thinks, considering the great parts he keeps to the siege apostolick and obedience thereof, and maintenance of the faith catholick in this his realm, now in this most perilous time, that his grace should not be denied of his just and reasonable desires, which tend all utterly to the auctorization of the holy siege apostolick, and obedience of the Pope's Holiness, as head of the Church Catholick; and hereafter with the first ships his grace will write of new to the Pope's Holiness hereupon, that it may be understood perfectly that this legation is desired by his grace specially, and not principally by us."[1]

What can we conclude from contradictions so puzzling, but that the king's private conscience and his overt public policy were at this time on opposite sides of the great question of the age? In his conscience he could not defend the flagrant corruptions of the Church; he felt, and at times he even confessed, that they demanded reform; but the whole policy of his reign was founded upon the mistaken principle, that it was necessary for him to make sure of the support of the clergy, in order to keep in check the ambition of his nobles; and to make sure of the clergy he was obliged to oppose himself to the demands of the Reformers. Beaton, with all his cruelty and ambition, was never so odious to him as the banished Douglases and their abettors; and to escape the tyranny of a faction who would have domineered over the crown, he was willing to let his whole kingdom remain under the bondage of a persecuting church. It is evident that his heart sometimes misgave him, in pursuing a policy so selfish and so pernicious to his people; but to the last he could never summon up virtue and resolution enough to abandon it. It is certain that at the commencement of 1540, Beaton had

[1] Sadler's State Papers and Letters, vol. i. p. 15. Two of the Cardinal's letters to Rome, dated 16 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1539, had fallen into Henry's hands, and hence they appear in Sadler.

powerful rivals to counterwork him in the king's cabinet but it is equally certain that they were never able to supplant him in the king's confidence. He kept his place and power as prime minister of state to the last; and it was his fatal influence that brought on those tragical events which hurried the king's reign to a close too early for the expectations of the prince himself, but not too early for his oppressed and groaning kingdom.

Borthwick Castle.

Section 9. Sir John Borthwick and the Scottish Nobility and Gentry. 1540—41.

Soon after the success of the satire of the "Three Estates" at Linlithgow, and as if to turn to political account the good impressions which had been made on the mind of the king, Sir Ralph Sadler arrived at Holyrood on a special mission from Henry VIII. His instructions were to use his utmost efforts to detach the Scottish monarch from the policy of the cardinal, to induce him to imitate the example of ecclesiastical reform which Henry had set in the Church of England, and to obtain

from him a definite promise to meet his royal uncle in a personal interview at York. How he carried out these instructions, Sadler fully informs us in his interesting letters to Henry, still extant; and nothing was wanting on the part of so accomplished and experienced a negotiator to insure success. But he failed in every point of his mission, and the cardinal remained absolute master of the field.

"I assure your majesty," writes Sadler, "he excused the cardinal in everything, and seemed wondrous loath to hear of any thing that should sound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praise." When the ambassador sought to excite James's cupidity by pointing out the advantages which would result to his crown from the suppression of some of the Scottish monasteries, he cut him short with the curt reply, "By my troth, I thank God I have enough to live on, and if we need anything that the clergy have, we may have it at our pleasure." Sadler then began to "reprehend their idle life, their vices, and their abuses," but even on this the most vulnerable point of the king's defences, he was prepared to parry the ambassador's blow. "He interrupted me," says Sadler, and laughed, saying, 'By God,' quoth he, 'they that be naught, ye shall hear that I shall redress them, and make them live like religious men, according to their professions.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'it will be hard to do.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'you shall hear tell;' and so began he to break off, as though he had no will to talk more thereof."

A remarkable instance of the cardinal's power, and of the boldness with which he used it, occurred during Sadler's sojourn in Edinburgh. It was the season of Lent, and Sadler being "an evil fishman," as he expresses it, used a diet of eggs and whitemeats; "whereupon the bishops and priests raised a bruit, that I and all my folks did eat flesh during Lent, and open proclamation was made, by the commandment of the cardinal, in all the churches within his dioceses, "that whosoever should buy an egg, or eat an egg, within those dioceses, should forfeit no less than his body to the fire, to

be burnt as an heretick, and all his goods confiscate to the king."

Still, the foundation of this exorbitant power was anything but secure. The very exorbitancy of it provoked opposition, and this opposition was nowhere more undisguised than in the court itself. The king sent Rothsay Herald to tell Sadler, "that whatsoever publications were made, the king's pleasure was, that he should eat what he would, and that victuals should be appointed to him of what he would eat;" and when Sadler "thanked humbly his Grace," and assured Rothsay that if he thought it was any offence to a good conscience to eat eggs and whitemeats, he would be as loath to eat them as the holiest of the priests who thus had belied him. "Oh!" exclaimed the king's messenger, scouting the idea of the holiness of the priests; "Oh! know ye not our priests? A mischief on them all. I trust," quoth he, "the world will amend here some day." "And thus," continues Sadler, "I had liberty to eat what I would." But these were trifling, though significant incidents, compared with other facts which the English Envoy observed on this occasion. He reported to a member of the Privy Council in England, that "the king himself was of a right good inclination," and so was a great part of the nobility and commonalty of the realm. Of the noblemen and gentlemen at court, who were "well given to the verity of Christ's word and doctrine, there was a great number." The only drawback was, that the noblemen so minded were still young, and Sadler saw "none amongst them that had any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience, as to take in hand the direction of things; so that the king was of force driven to use the bishops and the clergy, as his only ministers for the direction of the realm." But this was a drawback which time would mend. The young noblemen who sat at the king's council table, including the Earl of Errol, the Earl of Cassilis, and the Lord Erskine, would not be always young, nor would their high stomach always be content to see the whole power of the court and the state monopolised by the prelates.

Beaton, in truth, was uneasy, in the midst of all his apparent security. He felt the fabric of his dominion tremble to its foundations. These English embassies alarmed him. He dreaded the influence of Henry over his nephew, and he could not but feel what a formidable antagonist he had in the English king. Could he hope to be always able to thwart the wishes of Henry for a personal interview with James? Especially could he expect to do so, when Henry had an increasing number of men to abet his wishes and aims in James's own court and council? No! with all his seemingly immense power, the cardinal felt that he was not yet powerful enough. Hence his anxiety to be armed with the full faculties of a legation *a latere*, which would virtually make him a pope in the realm. And hence, too, a maxim of persecuting policy which he was now preparing to lay down, for the direction of his future action—that the church must not only strike heavily, but strike high.

It was soon after the departure of Sadler from Holyrood, that Beaton conceived the daring design of singling out for persecution the heretics of the king's own court. It was now plain to him that to burn obscure evangelical friars, and to banish crowds of humble scholars addicted to the new learning, was not enough. To save the church, her lightnings must fall upon the tall pines and the lofty towers. To make sure of the king, he must find means to deprive him of all his reforming courtiers and councillors. As early as May, 1540, his plan of action was matured.

Among the king's favourite attendants, Beaton had for some time regarded with an evil eye the accomplished knight, Sir John Borthwick. A younger son of William, third Lord Borthwick, Sir John had served with distinction in the army of France, where he had risen to be lieutenant of the French king's guard. At the Scottish court he was styled Captain Borthwick, and at the time of Sadler's visit, he was in close attendance upon the person of the king. He was a man of varied accomplishments; a scholar as well as a soldier, a

theologian as well as a courtier. He had a library well replenished with the new books of the time, and it was imputed to him as a crime, that among these were the English New Testament and divers treatises of Erasmus, Œcolampadius, and Melancthon. These books "he read and studied, as well openly as privately," and, being zealous for the truth, he was accused, no doubt quite justly, "of presenting and communicating his books to others, and of instructing and teaching many christians in the same, to divert and turn them away" from what seemed to the clergy, "the true christian and catholic faith." Nor was this all. Sir John was guilty of a still heavier crime. He laboured hard to make a convert to Lutheranism of the king himself. He not only held and affirmed that the king should appropriate to himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the church, "but for this end and purpose, he many times wrote unto the king, and with his whole endeavour persuaded him thereto." In a word, Sir John was a holder of what were then called, "the heresies of England," and had persuaded many persons to embrace the same; "willing and desiring, and with his whole heart praying, that the Church of Scotland might be brought to the same spirit and state, and to like ruin, as the Church of England was already come to."

That Beaton should have been anxious to rid himself of such an enemy at court is not surprising. Borthwick was too formidable an ally of Henry to be allowed to remain unchallenged and unmolested in a position so near the ear of the king. He was formally accused of heresy, and summoned to appear at the primate's tribunal on the 28th of May. Would the king protect his own servant, and one of the chief ornaments of his court? If Borthwick reckoned upon the king's support he was disappointed. It was probably by the monarch's advice that he fled to England, and allowed judgment to pass against him by default. The tribunal sat with great pomp and solemnity on the appointed day at St. Andrews, and Sir John was not only condemned, and forfeited, and banished from the kingdom,

but his effigy was ignominiously burnt at the market crosses of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, "in token of malediction and curse, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation." His "articles" were twelve in number, to all of which he afterwards wrote and published answers, distinguished by eminent learning and ability. The piece constitutes indeed, one of the most interesting literary monuments of the early period of the Reformation. Borthwick lived to return to Scotland after the Reformation was accomplished; was rehabilitated in his estates in 1561, and "ended his age with fulness of days about the year 1570, at St. Andrews, where, thirty years before, he had been burnt in effigy."

Encouraged by the king's unworthy connivance on this occasion, the cardinal proceeded with all his wonted energy to follow up his advantage. While every Lutheran in the court trembled to see the king's indifference to the fate of his most faithful servants, Beaton was emboldened by it to open up to James the whole extent of his design. Having associated with himself several of the other prelates, they presented to the king a scroll containing the names of more than a hundred of the nobility of the kingdom, and other landed proprietors of inferior rank, who were all suspected or known to be favourers of heresy. It was their desire, they said, that proceedings should be taken against the whole of these men, with a view to the complete extirpation of heresy from the realm; and they represented to the king the immense profits that would accrue to the crown from the forfeiture of so large a proportion of the landholders of the country. But with all his ability and knowledge of princes, Beaton had miscalculated the effect of this atrocious proposal. His anti-Lutheran zeal far outran the king's. James was shocked at the suggestion of such a wholesale scheme of execution and confiscation. His better nature revolted from it with horror, and broke forth in high indignation against his ruthless prelates. "Pack you, get you to your charges, reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me, or else, I

avow to God, I will reform you, if ever I hear such motion of you again." It was an answer, as Knox remarked, worthy of a prince. The bishops were "dashed and confounded by it, and ceased for a season to tempt him any further to consent to their wicked design."

That such a scroll of noble and wealthy proscripts should have been exhibited to the king, is a fact which throws a flood of light upon the progress which the Reformation had made at this early period among the upper classes of the kingdom; and it is one which ought to be borne in mind when we sit in judgment, as we are often summoned by unfriendly critics to do, upon the sincerity of the attachment of the Scottish nobility to reformation principles. The truth is, that the Scottish Reformation, even when viewed as a strictly religious movement, owed more to the aristocracy of the kingdom than to any other class. It was not a democratic movement in the sense of having originated in the lower ranks of the people, or of having been chiefly sustained by their zeal and endurance. It began with Patrick Hamilton, a nobleman; at the close of the Hamilton period, it numbered its adherents, among the nobility and gentry, by hundreds; and down to the hour of its final triumph, almost all its leaders were men of superior family, as well as of superior culture. The Scottish Reformation has often been called an ascending movement, and so it was, in the sense that it did not commence with, or receive any aid or direction from the heads of the Church and the State. But it was a descending movement as well, because, beginning in the ranks of the aristocracy it penetrated downwards among the popular masses. In this respect the Reformation of the Scottish Church seemed to obey the law of Feudality, which was then so prominent a characteristic of all Scottish social life. The government of the kingdom was an aristocracy almost as much as it was a monarchy. The episcopacy of the Church being almost exclusively in the hands of the sons of the lesser barons, was only the ecclesiastical branch of the power and prerogative of the nobles. The temporal lords and the spiritual lords

reduced to very narrow limits, between them, the power and prerogatives of the crown, and wielded an almost unrestricted dominion over the rights and liberties of the people. Scotland remained in the sixteenth century as feudal, in the spirit of her institutions and life, as she had been in the middle ages. It was perfectly natural then that her aristocracy should have been the prime movers in the great work of her Reformation, as in all her other important national affairs. The upper classes were still the chief seat and organ of the national life and energies. The lower classes were still content to follow in all things, in the wake of their liege lords. How natural then, that when the heart of the nation began to be stirred with a new religious life, it should have been the upper classes who furnished both the foremost champions, and the foremost persecutors of reform—both the Hamiltons and Borthwicks, who suffered death or banishment in its defence, and the Beatons and Dunbars who sought to stifle it in flames and blood!

Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh.

Section 10. DEATH OF JAMES V., AND THE FIRST REFORMING PARLIAMENT. 1542—43.

THE king's withering rebuke had the effect of putting a stop, for a few months, to the violent proceedings of Beaton and the other bishops. But the clergy only delayed the execution of their designs; they did not abandon them; and they still had influence enough with the parliament which met in March, 1541, to procure the passing of several acts against heresy, which were greatly more oppressive and severe than any which preceded them. By these new laws, all discussion on matters of

religion was prohibited; all persons were discharged from arguing against the authority of the pope, upon pain of death and confiscation of goods; and all persons who were so much as suspected of heresy, were declared incapable of holding any office in the state. With these new statutes of the realm to back him, and expecting to be soon armed besides with all the plenary powers of *Legatus a latere*, Beaton did not yet despair of the safety of the church.

But neither did Henry yet despair of defeating the cardinal by gaining over the king. Towards the end of 1541, Sir Ralph Sadler was again at Holyrood, upon the same mission as before. The instructions upon which he acted are still extant, and reveal the nature of the appeals which were now addressed to the reluctant monarch. Formerly, Henry had endeavoured to rouse his nephew's jealousy of Beaton's power, and to excite his cupidity by the prospect of enriching himself with the church's superfluous wealth; but on the present occasion, he addressed himself to feelings and sentiments still stronger than these—to the sensibilities and self-respect of the man, rather than of the prince. Sadler was instructed to urge upon him, "Not to think himself"—on subjects of religion—"as perchance sundry of his clergy would have him to do, as a brute or as a stock; or to mistrust that his wits, which he had received from God, were not able to perceive Christ's word, which his grace hath left to us common, to be understood by all christian men, as well as by such as be learned in the Latin tongue and heathen authors. The king did not doubt but his good nephew, endowed with *such* reason and wit, may as well understand the effect of the true doctrine, and know the truth of things, as the most of the clergy, who are commonly led by the affection they have to their maintenance out of their prince's hand, and to the continuance of their authority in pomp and pride. Let his nephew, for his better knowledge of the Bishop of Rome and his clergy, no less mark and give credence to their works and deeds, than to their fair painted words; and observing these, his highness had no doubt but he

should find much ease and perfection of knowledge of the very truth of the same; for that should induce him to lean unto the pure Word of God, and to pass light upon dreams of men, abused by superstition to blind princes and other persons of much simplicity."

There was much skill evinced in representations such as these, addressed to a young prince of superior talents and culture; and they were not without some effect. In one point at least, Sadler had better success now than he had had before. James gave his consent to the long-desired interview, and came under a promise to meet his uncle at York, in the autumn of 1542. Now then at last there was a gleam of hope that Beaton's influence over the king would be destroyed, and that Henry would be able to induce his nephew to imitate his example as an ecclesiastical reformer.

But it was only a gleam. Sadler was no sooner gone than the clergy once more recovered all their former influence in the king's councils. They had a powerful ally, it is to be remembered, in the young queen—the accomplished Mary of Lorraine, sister of the Duke of Guise; a princess as able to sway the mind of her royal husband, by her talents and address, as she was deeply devoted to the service of the church of Rome. The absent Henry was too weak a rival to cope with such a queen as Mary of Guise, and such a prime minister as David Beaton. James relapsed once more, and finally, into his old policy of making common cause at any hazard with his clergy—a policy which had been the bane of his whole administration, and which was now to entail upon him disaster, humiliation, and ruin.

The series of events which followed in 1542—the king's breach of promise to meet Henry at York, after the latter had proceeded thither with his whole court; Henry's high resentment at this affront, and declaration of war; the invasion of Scotland, and the refusal of the nobles at Fala to revenge this invasion by a raid into England; James's deep disgust at this refusal, and his still deeper chagrin at the disgraceful rout of

Solway-Moss, which shortly after ensued; his profound and settled melancholy under these disasters, which was increased rather than diminished by the tidings of the birth of a princess as the heir of the throne; and finally his death soon after, at Falkland, on the 16th of December; all these tragical events are well known to every reader of Scottish history, and need not be dwelt upon here. But they furnished a sadly true commentary upon the words which Sadler had been instructed to whisper into his ear the last time he was at Holyrood, "that the Bishop of Rome and his faction of cardinal and adherents cared not whether both uncle and nephew should consume each other, so that the holy father and his apostles might have their purpose. They loved him not, but only loved the commodity and profit which they might take of him; they fed him with false confidences for their own purpose, to his great loss, disquiet and damage, and for a reward procured his destruction."

The premature death of the king could not fail to prove an event of the highest consequence to the nation, in the existing condition of religious and political parties. A new scene of national life immediately opened; a new struggle of parties instantly began. Who should be regent during the long minority of the crown? should it be Beaton, who exhibited the king's testament appointing him to the regency, along with a council of three of the nobles, including the young Earl of Arran, heir presumptive to the crown? or should it be the Earl of Arran himself, in virtue of his claim of hereditary right, and conformably to the laws and ancient usages of the kingdom?

The conflict was sharp and short. Beaton's testament was pronounced a forgery by an assembly of the nobles hastily convened in Edinburgh in the interest of Arran; and Arran was declared and proclaimed sole regent of the kingdom, as early as the 22d of December, 1542. The officers of the deceased king immediately delivered up to him the king's palaces, treasure, jewels, and plate. His regency was already an accomplished fact, and for once the cardinal, with all his promp-

titude and energy, was compelled to give way before a more fortunate rival, and to bide his time for remedy and redress. The success of Arran was owing to his popularity with a strong party of the nobles and gentry, and this popularity was due to his being a professed reformer. It was known that the cardinal had inscribed his name first upon the scroll of proscription, which the bishops had a second time proffered to the king shortly before his death; and to the numerous party who were zealous for reform, this high distinction conferred by his rival seemed a title to the regency of almost equal consideration with his ancestral rank as premier peer of the realm. His success was hailed by the whole of this party as a glorious triumph. The hope of a happy era dawned brightly upon the nation, now that a professed reformer was placed at the head of affairs. Congratulations, thanksgivings, and sanguine expectations ran through thousands of hearts in all parts of the kingdom.

The Regent's first acts gave promise of an early fulfilment of these sanguine hopes. Many of those whom he called to his councils and kept about his person—men like Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, Sir James Learmonth of Balcomy, Henry Balnaves of Halhill, Thomas Bellenden of Auchinoul, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount—were men of earnest religious feeling and enlightened patriotism, and all in the highest degree solicitous to turn the present crisis to account for the interests both of the church and the state. Opening his ears to the wise counsel of such advisers, the Regent chose for his court-chaplains Thomas Guilliam and John Rough, both evangelical preachers, and whose frequent sermons in the Church of Holyrood were "in doctrine so wholesome, and against superstition so vehement," that the Grey Friars, and other lovers of the old darkness, "rowped as they had been ravens," crying out "heresy, heresy; Guilliam and Rough will carry the governor to the devil." He summoned the Estates of the realm to meet on an early day, and prepared measures to submit to them in the interest of religious liberty

and reform; and having learned that the disappointed cardinal had commenced intrigues with France to obtain assistance for the suppression of his government, he suddenly apprehended his powerful rival, and committed him to custody in the Castle of Dalkeith, and afterwards in Blackness—a bold stroke, which inspired his enemies with a wholesome opinion of his resolution and energy. What a revolution! The cardinal-primate in prison, the gospel in the pulpit of Holyrood, reformers all round the council-table, and a parliament summoned which is expected to begin the great work of the Reformation of the Church!

The Three Estates assembled at Edinburgh on the 12th of March, 1543. They met as usual in the Tolbooth—an ancient building which stood close to the west side of the church of St. Giles. Sir George Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus, who had hastened down from London to be present, spoke of the meeting "as the most substantial parliament that ever was seen in Scotland in any man's remembrance, and best furnished with all the Three Estates." The only man of eminent rank who was absent was the Earl of Argyle, who was "sore sick." It was felt that a national crisis had come, and men of all ranks and parties hurried to the field of legislative contest. High questions of state came up first for decision—the confirmation of Arran's regency, the appointment of tutors for the infant queen, the appointment of an embassy to Henry VIII. to negotiate touching a projected marriage between Prince Edward and the infant Queen Mary, the recall and re-habilitation in his estates and honours of the long-banished Earl of Angus. On these measures we cannot dwell. We must confine ourselves to the ecclesiastical deliberations of this important parliament. Foremost among the champions of religious liberty stood Lord Maxwell. His frequent intercourse, as warden of the West Marches, with the ministers and commissioners of Henry VIII., and his recent sojourn in London as one of the prisoners of Solway-Moss, had predisposed him in favour of the "Heresies of England;" and his name is honourably recorded in the rolls of parliament as the nobleman who submitted to "the Lords of

the Articles," the draft of an act to make it lawful to all the lieges to possess and to read the Word of God in their mother tongue. The proposal excited long and animated discussions, and of these Knox has given us so graphic and lively an account, that no words can better depict them to the reader.

"Question was raised in the Parliament, of the abolishing of certain tyrannical acts made before, at devotion of the prelates, for maintaining of their kingdom of darkness—to wit, That under pain of heresy no man should read any part of the Scriptures in the English tongue, neither yet any tractate or exposition of any place of Scripture. Such articles began to come in question, we say, and men began to inquire if it was not as lawful to men that understood no Latin, to use the word of their salvation in the tongue they understood, as it was for Latin men to have it in Latin, and Grecians or Hebrews to have it in their tongues? It was answered that the kirk first had forbidden all tongues but these three. But men demanded when that inhibition was given, and what council had ordained it; considering that in the days of Chrysostom he complains that the people used not the Psalms and other holy books in their own tongues. And if ye will say they were Greeks and understood the Greek tongue, we answer that Christ Jesus commanded his word to be preached to all nations; and if it ought to be preached to all nations, it must be preached in the tongue they understand. Now, if it be lawful to preach it, and to hear it preached in all tongues, why shall it not be lawful to read it, and to hear it read in all tongues? to the end that the people may try the spirits according to the commandment of the Apostle. Beaten with these and other reasons, they denied not but it may be read in the vulgar tongue, provided that the translation were true. It was demanded what could be reprehended in it? And when much searching was made, nothing could be found but that *love*, say they, was put in the place of *charity*. When the question was asked what difference was betwixt the one and the other, and if they understood the nature of the Greek term 'agape,' they were dumb. Reasoned

for the party of the seculars the Lord Ruthven, a stout and discreet man in the cause of God, and maister Henry Balnaves, an old professor. For the party of the clergy, the Dean of Restalrig, and certain old bosses with him. The conclusion was, that the commissioners of Burghs, and a part of the nobility, required of the Parliament that it might be enacted, That it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation which then they had of the Bible and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates and kirkmen should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct. The clergy long repugned hereto; but in the end, convicted by reasons and by multitude of votes opposed to them, they also condescended; and so, by Act of Parliament, it was made free to every man and woman to read the Scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue, and so were all Acts made to the contrary abolished."[1]

"This," continues Knox, "was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity, and no small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor the articles of their faith in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the bible lying almost upon every gentle-

[1] In addition to the names of Lord Maxwell, Lord Ruthven, and Balnaves, those of the zealous commissioners of burghs who acted along with them have also been recorded, and deserve to be recounted with gratitude in every commemoration of the nation's deliverance from the Papal yoke. The following were the commissioners of Burghs who sat among "The Lords of the Articles," who prepared and recommended the measure to the Parliament:—

William Adamson and George Henderson for Edinburgh; James Learmonth, Provost of St. Andrews; William Hamilton, Provost of Ayr; the Constable of Dundee, *i.e.* Sir John Scrymgeour; Robert Myln for Dundee; Thomas Menzies, Provost of Aberdeen; Thomas Jameson for Perth; David Lindsay (the Poet) for Cupar; William Alison, Provost of Jedburgh.

man's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant that some, alas! profaned that blessed word, for some that perchance had never read ten sentences in it, had it maist common in their hand; they would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, 'This has lain hid under my bed-feet these ten years.' Others would glory, 'O, how oft have I been in danger for this book! How secretly have I stolen from my wife at midnight to read upon it!' And this was done of many to make court thereby, for all men esteemed the governor to have been the most fervent Protestant that was in Europe. Albeit, we say, that many abused that liberty granted of God miraculously; yet thereby did the knowledge of God wondrously increase, and God gave his Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our awin tongue, besides those that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses of that Roman Antichrist."

On the 19th day of March, 1543, appeared the following proclamation of the Regent of the kingdom.

GUBERNATOR.

CLERK OF REGISTER. It is our will and we charge you, that ye gar proclaim this day at the mercat cross of Edinburgh, the Acts made in our Sovereign lady's Parliament, that should be proclaimed and given forth to her lieges; and in special, the Act made for having of the New Testament in vulgar tongue, with certain additions, and thereafter give forth the copies thereof authentic, as effeiris, to all them that will desire the samyn, and insert this our command and charge in the books of Parliament for your warrant. Subscrivit with our own hand at Edinburgh, the 19th day of March, the year of God 1543 years.

JAMES G.

Thus happily closed the Hamilton period of the Reformation. The blood of the first noble martyr, and of so many other good men, had not been shed in vain; nor in vain

had the truth by so many different agencies been introduced and disseminated throughout the realm. The success obtained in this Parliament seemed to men almost miraculous. The truth of God was at length in the ascendant in the councils of the nation, and legislation began to flow in Reformation channels.

The cheering prospect which was thus opened was indeed soon overcast. The cardinal still lived to oppose the good cause, and the Regent was soon to prove himself no match against Beaton's powers of obstruction and intrigue. A few months sufficed to change the whole aspect of public affairs, and to cover the ecclesiastical firmament again with storm-clouds. Still, much of what was now gained to the cause of religious liberty, was never again lost. However low the outward fortunes of the Reformation afterwards fell, the strong hold which its principles now obtained upon the national mind, could never again be seriously relaxed; nor could it ever be deprived of two capital advantages now gained for it;—the virtual recognition, by Act of Parliament, of the fundamental principle of the Reformation, that the Word of God is the supreme standard of religious truth; and the concession by statute of the fundamental Protestant right, that every man, woman, and child in the kingdom, should be free to possess, and to make use of the vernacular Bible.

Chapel and Well of St. Palladius in Fordoun Glen.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

THE WISHART PERIOD. A.D. 1543—1554.

Section I. *Life of George Wishart to* 1543.

WHEN the commissioners sent by the Scottish Parliament to London to negotiate the marriage of Edward and Mary returned to Scotland, in July, 1543, they brought home with them an exiled countryman, whom Knox has characterised in

the following glowing terms: "A man of such graces, as before him were never heard within this realm, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding the great light of God that since his days has shined unto us ; a man singularly learned, as well in godly knowledge as in all honest human science." Such was George Wishart—with whose return to Scotland at this date, commences the Wishart period of the Scottish Reformation.

Neither the place nor the date of his birth has been recorded, but he was probably born at the house of Pitarrow, in the Mearns, about the year 1512. The family of the Wisharts of Pitarrow was ancient and honourable, and had produced several eminent men for the service of the church and the state. Sir James Wishart, the father of the reformer, was a man of ability and learning, and held for ten years—between 1513 and 1524—the high judicial office of Lord Justice Clerk. The house of Pitarrow stood at no great distance from the ancient church of St. Palladius, in the beautiful Glen of Fordoun, and George Wishart must have been early familiar with the popular superstitions connected with the shrine and the holy well of that long-honoured saint. So recently as the days of Archbishop Shevez, the relics of St. Paldy, as he was popularly called, had been deposited in a silver shrine by that prelate upon occasion of his making a pilgrimage to the sacred spot—a proof that the worship of the saint was still flourishing in the reign of James the Third.

The place of Wishart's education is not certainly known, but may be conjectured with great probability to have been King's College, Aberdeen. It is known that he had acquired early in life a knowledge of the Greek tongue, and King's College was the only university in Scotland at that time, where such an accomplishment could be obtained. He was early associated in these humanising studies with John Erskine of Dun, who had the honour of being one of the first promoters of Greek learning in Scotland. The two families of Dun and Pitarrow were near neighbours, and were allied by intermarriage. Young

Erskine and Wishart grew up together from childhood; a connexion which was afterwards closely cemented by the intellectual and religious congeniality of their riper years.

Wishart was an instance of what was then no uncommon occurrence in Europe, viz. for noblemen, and the sons of noblemen, to devote themselves to the task of classical instruction. Erskine had resolved, as Provost of Montrose, to introduce the teaching of Greek into the grammar school of that ancient burgh, and he found an able and zealous teacher in his friend and fellow-student. Wishart was engaged for some years in that useful office; and it is a curious fact that even after he had reached the more exalted honours of a great preacher, and a venerated martyr, he still continued to be spoken of, at least in that district of the country, as "the Schoolmaster of Montrose."[1]

Unfortunately for the first Greek grammar school in Scotland, it was then considered a heresy by the bishops to teach Greek, and particularly the Greek Testament, which was Wishart's text book. In 1538, the schoolmaster was summoned by John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, to answer to such a charge. David Beaton, as we have seen, was then Chief Inquisitor of the kingdom, and took care that all the bishops of his province should imitate his own example of unrelenting bigotry. But Wishart, though a zealous Grecian, did not think it his duty to suffer martyrdom for the teaching of Greek, and wisely consulted his safety by withdrawing into England.

We next meet with him in Bristol, in the following year, 1539, engaged as a public lecturer and preacher in several of the churches of that city. The Deanery of Bristol was at that time a part of the diocese of Worcester, and Latimer was then the bishop of the see; and, in the absence of any other explanation of the curious fact that the Scottish exile should turn up

[1] The late Patrick Chalmers, Esq., of Aldbar, came into possession of an ancient clock, which had descended for generations in a Montrose family of the name of Barclay, and which had been always spoken of in the family as having once belonged to "George Wishart, the Schoolmaster of Montrose."

as a lecturer there, the conjecture may be allowed, that he had been recommended by one or other of his numerous fellow-exiles to the zealous Protestant bishop, and that Latimer had given him a faculty to preach in his diocese.[1]

However this may have been, there is evidence of the most authentic kind for a singular fact connected with Wishart's sojourn in Bristol, which was left unrecorded by all our early historians; and which, though referred to by several writers of our own time, has never hitherto been set in a correct light. While at Bristol, Wishart was publicly accused and convicted of setting forth doctrines which were heretical, in the sense of being not merely opposed to the teaching of the Romish Church, but to the teaching and truth of the Word of God. The following record of this fact is found entered in "The Mayor's Calendar" of Bristol; a very ancient volume, in which have been chronicled for centuries the names of the municipal authorities of the city, and occasional incidents which occurred during the successive mayoralties.[2]

"30. HENRY VIII. That this year, the 15 May, a Scot, named George Wysard, set furth his lecture in St. Nicholas Church of Bristowe, the most blasphemous heresy that ever was herd, openly declarying that Christ nother hath nor coulde merite for him, nor yet for us; which heresy brought many of the commons of this town into a great error, and divers of them were persuaded by that heretical lecture to heresy. Whereupon, the said stiff-necked Scot was accused by Mr. John Kerne, deane of the said diocese of Worcester, and soon after he was sent to the most reverend father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, before whom and others, that is to signify, the

[1] The author had hoped to find Wishart's name mentioned in Latimer's register at Worcester; but on inspecting it, neither his name nor that of any other of the Scottish protestant exiles was to be found.

[2] The author inspected the original record, in possession of the corporation of Bristol, with his own eyes, and can vouch for the entire accuracy of the transcript as here given. Many months afterwards, he found that it had been transcribed and printed by Mr. Seyer, in his Memoirs of Bristol, and that this transcript agreed in every particular with his own.

Bishops of Bath, Norwich, and Chichester, with others as doctors; and he before them was examined, convicted and condemned in and upon the detestable heresy above mentioned; whereupon, he was injoyned to bere a fagot in St. Nicholas church aforesaid, and the parish of the same, the 13 July, anno forementioned; and in Christ church and parish thereof, the 20 July, abovesaid following; which injunction was duly executed in aforesaid."

The acccuray of this original record is confirmed by the following letter from the Mayor of Bristol, for the year 1539, which is still extant among the papers of Lord Cromwell, to whom it was addressed.[1]

"Pleaseth it your honourable lordship to be advertised, that certain accusations are made and had by Sir John Kerell, Dean of Bristowe, deputy of the Bishop of Worcester, our ordinary, and by divers others, inhabitants of Bristowe foresaid, against one George Wischarde, a Scottishman born, lately being before your honourable lordship. Which accusations the said Dean and other inhabitants aforesaid have presented before me the mayor of Bristowe, and justices of peace; and the same accusations I have received, sending the same unto your said honourable lordship; and furthermore, the chamberlain and the Dean of Bristowe shall signify unto your honourable lordship, the very truth in the premises, unto whom we shall desire you to give credence. And thus our Lord preserve your honourable lordship in health and wealth, according unto your own heartiest desire. At Bristowe, the IX day of June, Anno Regis Henrici VIII, XXXI.[2]

Be me THOMAS JEFFRYIS,
Mayor of Brystowe.

[1] Attention was first called to this letter by Mr. Froude, in his History of England in the reign of Henry VIII. The transcript given above has been made by the author from the original, in the Rolls' office, Chancery Lane.

[2] In the Mayor's Calendar, the date given is 30 Henry; in the above letter it is 31 Henry. The latter is no doubt correct. The entry may not have been made in the calendar till some time after, when the exact date was forgotten. The 31 Henry corresponds with 1539.

It does not admit of a doubt then, that Wishart had fallen at this early period of his life, while his views of divine truth were still immature, into some serious misapprehension on the subject of the merits of Christ, and the way of human redemption. If the popish churchmen of Bristol had been his only judges, we might have been justified in receiving with hesitation so strange an accusation, because he was no doubt even then a vigorous opponent of popish doctrines; and it was, probably, his zeal in attacking the doctrine of mediatory merit in the case of the Romish saints, which carried him into the heretical extreme of denying the mediatory merit of the Redeemer himself. But as he was sent up to London to be tried by a tribunal over which Cranmer presided, it is only fair to conclude that the sentence which that tribunal pronounced upon him was just. If the Protestant preacher had been misunderstood or calumniated by his enemies, the Protestant archbishop would have protected him from their malice. Wishart himself acknowledged the justice of the sentence, by publicly recanting his error in the very churches where he had promulgated it.

But this account of Wishart's conduct at Bristol is very different from the version of it which has hitherto been current. It has long been supposed that what Wishart preached against there, was the mediatory merit of the Virgin Mary, and that what he publicly recanted twice over was the Protestant doctrine upon that subject, a doctrine which he no doubt believed to be true and scriptural at the very time he was supposed to have ignominiously recanted it. The difficulty of accounting for Cranmer's condemnatory sentence, was, upon this supposition, insuperable; and equally so was the difficulty of vindicating the conduct of the Reformer in publicly declaring to be false, what he could not but know to be the truth of God. Still, the record in "The Mayor's Calendar" was thought to be decisive upon the point. But it is now ascertained that this reading of the Calendar was an entire mistake; and curiously enough, a serious misunderstanding of history, which has now been current for nearly half a century, is found to have arisen

from the misreading of a single word, nay, of a single letter of the original chronicle.[1]

The incident, thus cleared of misapprehension, leaves the character of the Reformer for sincerity and fortitude without a stain. It reveals indeed the unripeness of his views of Gospel truth at that early period of his life; he had fallen into a serious error of judgment, and he had incurred just censure for rashly proclaiming so dangerous an error to the uninstructed multitude. But he now stands acquitted of all imputation upon his firmness and integrity. When Cranmer and his other judges condemned him to abjure his error at their bar, he honestly abjured it. When he publicly recanted it at Bristol, his recantation was sincere. It was an error which he recanted, not a truth. Instead of diminishing our admiration of his heroism as a confessor of the faith, the incident enhances it; for it shows that he was as ready to brave the ignominy of a public recantation in the interest of truth, as he afterwards showed himself prepared to suffer the disgrace and the horror of a heretic's death, in the same service.

If Wishart's views of divine truth were still somewhat unsettled upon some important points, and he had not yet learned to draw accurately the lines of distinction between Scripture truths and Rome's corruptions of them, it was a happy arrangement of Providence which led him, on leaving

[1] A gentleman of Bristol, who sent a copy of the entry in the Mayor's Calendar to the late Dr. McCrie, had read it thus: "openly declaring that Christ's *Mother* hath not, nor could merit for him, nor yet for us." He read *m*other for *n*other (the old form of neither), and then, unable to make sense of the words, he inserted the negative "not" after "hath," thinking himself, no doubt, justified in doing so by the following "nor." A second examination of the word which he took to be *mother*, would have revealed his mistake; because, though the writing is extremely minute, it is remarkably distinct and clear, especially when read through a glass. The eminent historian to whom the copy was sent, relying upon its accuracy, and having no opportunity of examining the original for himself, published it in his notes to the Life of Knox in the form in which he had received it.

England, in 1540, to visit the Reformed Churches of Switzerland. These Churches were now far advanced in Christian knowledge and life. When prematurely bereaved of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, they had found a worthy successor to these great and good men in Henry Bullinger; and Bullinger, building upon the foundations which his predecessors had laid, in the same spirit as the founders, had raised up a goodly fabric of Church discipline and order, which was the admiration of evangelical visitors from all the Reformed countries of Europe.

The First Helvetic Confession became the subject of Wishart's careful study, during his sojourn in the Cantons; and he gave an unmistakeable proof of his approbation of its teaching, by executing a translation of it into his mother-tongue. Nor is it difficult to trace the influence of that Confession in his subsequent public teaching. The great prominence which he was wont to give on all occasions to the Word of God, as the only legitimate source and standard of Christian truth, corresponded exactly with the spirit of the Swiss Confession; and no less so did the distinctness and decision of his doctrine on the subject of the Sacraments. In a word, the effect of his visit to Switzerland seems to have been to give to his theological views the characteristics of the Helvetic type of doctrine, as distinguished from the German or Lutheran type; and this fact had an important influence in the long run, upon the Confessional characteristics of the Reformed Scottish Church.

It was during his sojourn on the Continent that an incident occurred, which he afterwards referred to, shortly before his martyrdom. "I once chanced," said he, "to meet with a Jew when I was sailing upon the waters of Rhine. I inquired of him what was the cause of his pertinacie, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him, to be fulfilled; moreover, the prophecies taken away and the sceptre of Judah? By many other testimonies of the Scripture I vanquished him, and approved that Messiah was come—the same which they

called Jesus of Nazareth. The Jew answered again unto me, 'When Messiah cometh, He shall restore all things, and He shall not abrogate the Law which was given to our fathers, as ye do. For why? We see the poor almost perish through hunger among you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them; but among us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Law to faine any kind of nagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only to honour; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say that it is your god.'" These Jewish censures upon the practice of Christendom, appear to have made a deep impression upon Wishart. He never forgot them. He used to refer to them in his preaching, as a proof of the bad impression which was made upon the minds of unbelievers, by the use of images in Christian worship, and by the Popish doctrine of the Real Presence; and it is not improbable that words which he quoted so often as a lesson to others, may have made some salutary impression, when he first heard them, upon himself. It is certain that Wishart became, in his own person, an eminent instance of that humane concern for the poor, with the want of which the Jew reproached the Christian world at large; and no less so of that zeal against religious "imagery" and bread-worship, of which the latter had set him so fervent an example.

Having returned to England, probably late in 1541, Wishart repaired to Cambridge, and took up his residence in Corpus Christi, or Bene't College. It was no time to think of returning to Scotland, for the Cardinal was still at the pinnacle of his despotic power. But there were many devout students of the Word of God in the colleges of Cambridge; and there, amidst studious shades, and in the enjoyment of the society of men of congenial spirit, he could wait for the arrival of better times for his persecuted country.

He went to Cambridge, however, not only to study, but to teach; and among his pupils there was one Emery Tylney, who

conceived for him the deepest veneration and love. To this affectionate scholar we are indebted for an account of his person, character, and habits of life, which, for its minuteness of detail, and graphic truth of description, is of great biographical value. It was contributed by Tylney, many years afterwards, to Fox's Book of Martyrs, and it was well worthy of a place in that great gallery of Christian worthies.

"About the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred forty and three, there was in the university of Cambridge one Maister George Wishart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's College, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well-spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled; having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantle, frieze gown to the shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at the hands, all the which apparel he gave to the poor; some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness, for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature; he lay hard upon a puff of straw, coarse new canvas sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He loved me tenderly, and I him for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! For in his religion he was, as you see here, in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland

with divers of the nobility that came for a treaty to King Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always prest and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately and in the schools publicly, professing and reading divers authors. If I should declare his love to me and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him. All this I testify with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man."

What a noble instrument of good to his country had God prepared in "Maister George of Bennet College!" "a character like Latimer or Tyndale," and a man sealed like them to be a sacrifice for the salvation of his native land. On the tiptoe of expectation he awaited God's call. The arrival of these ambassadors at the English court was the signal of Providence, that his long wished for hour of opportunity was come. He hastened from Cambridge to join them in London; and sympathising in the joy of their successful embassy—a success which promised a lasting peace and a common crown to the two kingdoms, as well as an intimate alliance in the work of Religious Reform—he set off with them for Scotland, where the whole party arrived before the end of July, 1543.

Blackness Castle.

Section 2. Apostasy of the Regent, and Commencement of Wishart's Ministry. 1543—1544.

When the commissioners returned to Edinburgh, they found the Regent mistrusted, and his court abandoned by the friends of the Gospel and of the English alliance. Kirkaldy, Bellenden, Lindsay, Durham, the court physician, and Borthwick, the king's advocate, had all become sensible of a change in the regent's disposition towards his former advisers, and had been compelled by the insults of the Hamiltons, who crowded his court, to withdraw.

When Arran entered upon his high office, he was a young and untried man, and a few months of power had sufficed to reveal the weakness of his character, and his great deficiency in steadiness and resolution. As yet only a novice in the religion of the Reformers, and occupying a position of great delicacy and danger, where it was easy for abler men than himself to make him believe that his worldly interests were opposed to his religious profession, he soon began to waver in his attachment to the cause of reform. His brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, who had returned to Scotland from Paris in the month of April, proved his evil genius. A zealous Papist, and a man of talent and address, the abbot was more than a match for the feeble earl, and was soon able to poison his mind against the wise and patriotic men who had hitherto been his accepted councillors. The palace was filled with gentlemen of the name of Hamilton, who were easily brought to assist in carrying on the abbot's crafty designs, and who, on one occasion, made bold to tell the Regent, in the presence of some of the men to whom he had hitherto given his confidence, "that neither he nor his friends would ever be at quietness till a dozen of these knaves who abused his grace were hanged." When such language was heard by Arran without censure, a change in his public policy could not be far distant. He was soon induced by the abbot to dismiss his Protestant chaplains; when Rough withdrew to the district of Kyle, and Guilliam to England. This took place in April. Then he allowed the cardinal to regain his liberty, permitting him to be transferred from the fortress of Blackness to his own castle of St. Andrews, where he was really his own master, though kept, for the sake of appearances, under the pretended custody of Lord Seton, who was a zealous Papist; a liberty which Beaton instantly made use of to prepare a threatening demonstration of the nobility and clergy against the English match and alliance. In a word, the Regent had now put himself entirely into the hands of men, who soon after, as Knox says, "led him so far from God, that he falsified his promise to the English

king, dipt his hands in the blood of the saints of God, and brought the commonwealth to the point of utter ruin."

It was only by degrees, however, that he advanced to these extremes of perfidy. The embassy sent to Henry had not acted solely in the Regent's name, but as commissioners from the Three Estates, and Arran was too timid and irresolute to take the bold step of repudiating the contract into which they had entered with the English king. He must needs for a time dissemble his altered views, and appear to concur, as even the cardinal and his party pretended for a time to do, in a ratification of the treaty. He summoned a convention of the nobles at Holyrood, and submitted the contract to their judgment and approval. On the 25th of August, 1543, both the Match and the Peace were solemnly ratified in the abbey church, "and that nothing should lack that might fortify the matter, was Christ's body broken betwixt the Governor and Maister Sadler, Ambassador, and received of them both, as a sign and token of the unity of their minds, inviolably to keep that contract in all points, as they looked of Christ to be saved, and afterwards to be reputed men worthy of credit before the world." Sadler dined with the Regent after the solemnity was over, and reported to Henry, in a letter written the same day, that Arran, referring to the oath which he had just taken, declared "that if all the rest of the realm should be against it, he alone would shed his blood and spend his life in the observation thereof." "In which case," he added, "if he should be pursued by the cardinal and his accomplices, he must needs make his refuge to his majesty, without whose help and aid he should not be able to withstand their malice; but his trust was, that all should be well." These words betrayed his inward uneasiness, and half revealed to the sagacious ambassador his treacherous design. In fact, the Regent was revolving in his thoughts much more seriously the power of his enemies, and the dangers which were now threatening his own authority, than the obligations of honour and truth which lay upon his conscience, in relation to the English king. He dreaded the

issue, to himself, of an open struggle between the cardinal's party, and the party of the English alliance. He saw many indications of the unpopularity of the policy which had led to the treaty which he had just concluded. The clergy had succeeded but too well in rousing among the people the old feelings of national jealousy and antipathy against their "auld enemies of England;" and the Regent came at last to the conclusion that, in order to save himself, it was indispensable to reconcile himself to the cardinal, and break with the king. To keep his word and suffer for it, was a pitch of honour to which his virtue as a man and a governor proved wholly unequal.

Affairs soon came to a crisis. On the 28th of August, Sadler informed his royal master that "the adverse party had already a great advantage over the friends of England: they were already gathered, and were ready to set forward, intending to be at Stirling on an early day." But Arran was still loud in his professions of devotion to Henry. "No prince alive had, nor should have, his heart and service, but your majesty only; alledging plainly, that of force he must adhere to your majesty, for he had lost all other friends in the world besides, and without your majesty's aid and supportance, he was in great danger of overthrow." Alas, for the faith of princely protestations! In eight days thereafter Sadler wrote again from Edinburgh, to tell that "the governor was now revolted to the cardinal and his complices. On Monday last, after that Sir John Campbell of Lundy, and the Abbot of Pittenweem had been here with the governor, with letters from the cardinal, the said governor, the same day towards night, departed hence suddenly, alledging that he would go to the Blackness to his wife, who, as he said, laboured of child; and yesterday he rode to my lord Livingston's house, which is betwixt Linlithgow and Stirling, where the cardinal and the Earl of Murray met with him, and very friendly embracings were betwixt them, with also a good long communication. And then they departed from thence altogether to Stirling, where they now be."

At Stirling, "the unhappy man," says Knox, "beaten with the temptations brought to bear upon him, rendered himself to the appetites of the wicked; subjected himself to the cardinal and his counsels; received absolution, renounced his profession of Christ's Holy Evangel, and violated his oath for observation of the contract and league with England."

All men stood amazed at the disgraceful deed. The friends of the Reformation were plunged into distress by such a sudden disappointment of their most cherished hopes. The king of England was roused to a transport of resentment, and made a vow of revenge, which he was not slow to fulfil with all the terrors of invasion and war. The suddenness and completeness of the Regent's apostasy took the cardinal himself by surprise; he was for a time even embarrassed by his unexpected success. Calculating upon a much more protracted struggle, he had intrigued with the Earl of Lennox, to bring him over from France as a rival to Arran; holding out to him not only the promise of the regency, but also the prospect of a marriage with the dowager queen. But when the earl by-and-bye arrived, and found Arran and Beaton reconciled, and no hope remaining of his being able to realise these splendid objects of ambition, he naturally vented upon the cardinal the bitterness of his chagrin; and his revenge threatened for a time to give serious disturbance to the unholy league which had now been consummated between the governor and the clergy.

It was in the midst of all these vicissitudes of hope and fear for the cause of reform, that George Wishart began his labours as a preacher of the Gospel. "The beginning of his doctrine was in Montrose," the scene of his former labours, and where the remembrance of his early learning and zeal must have predisposed the minds of many to listen to his teaching with favour. The topics of his discourse, as he tells us himself, were chiefly the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith in the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer." Unfortunately, there is not a single trace remaining in the records of the town, by which we might be able to estimate the effects

which his ministrations produced. But their fruits were no doubt considerable, for Montrose ever afterwards displayed a steady attachment to the cause of reform. The minds of the population had long been under training to welcome such a ministration as Wishart's. Montrose, as we formerly saw, was one of the earliest towns in Scotland to receive importations of the English Testament. It was one of the first to have teachers able to teach, and scholars willing to learn, the Greek Scriptures. The Erskines of Dun, who took a lead in its municipal affairs, had long been gained to the side of religious truth, and other pious families of good estate in the neighbourhood, such as the Melvilles of Baldowey, the Stratons of Lauriston, and the Wisharts of Pitarrow, all contributed their influence in the same direction. Indeed, so strong had been the demonstrations of Lutheran opinion and feeling as early as 1540, that in that year, the Monastery of Black Friars, near the town, then under the rule of Prior Robert Borthwick, had found it necessary to obtain from James V. a special patent of protection for themselves and all their possessions and goods, movable and immovable—a curious document which is still extant.[1]

From Montrose Wishart passed to Dundee, where his preaching attracted much attention, and called forth "great admiration of all who heard him." He chose for his subject the Epistle to the Romans, which he appears to have expounded consecutively from chapter to chapter—the first example given in Scotland of the expository lecture; a method of pulpit instruction which continues in high favour among her people to the present day. Wishart had seen this method practised in the pulpits of Switzerland, for we know that it was Bullinger's habit, as it had been Zwingle's before him, to lecture in the

[1] It is much to be regretted that neither the Burgh Records of Montrose nor Dundee go back so far as the time of the Reformation. The author searched them both for notices of Wishart, but without success; nor have any such notices yet been found among the records preserved in the charter chest of Dun House, though these have been lately examined by several antiquaries.

pulpit as well as in the chair upon whole books of Scripture; and it was very natural that the Scottish Reformer, who sympathised so thoroughly with what the Swiss divines taught, should have been led to imitate them also in the manner in which they taught it.

It was, in all probability, the preaching of Wishart in Dundee, which led to a popular demonstration against the monasteries, which is known to have taken place there in the autumn of 1543. On the 13th of September, Lord Parr, the Warden of the East English Marches, informed the Duke of Suffolk "that the work of Reformation had begun at Dundee, by destroying the houses of the Black and Grey Friars, and that afterwards the Abbey of Lindores had been sacked by a company of good Christians, who turned the monks out of doors." Parr also mentions the singular fact, that the Regent soon afterwards acknowledged, at Stirling, to the cardinal, that this demolition at Dundee had taken place with his consent; "for which he did open penance in the Friar-house at Stirling, and took an oath to defend the monks, heard mass, and received the sacrament, and was therefore absolved by the cardinal and bishops."[1]

It was probably soon after this outbreak of popular zeal against the corruptions of the church, the first of the kind which occurred in Scotland, that Wishart was charged by the Governor's authority to desist from preaching in Dundee. That he was so prohibited from continuing his ministrations, is a fact which we learn from the first of the Articles afterwards alleged against him; and the most probable date of the prohibition is that which we have assumed. It need scarcely be added that he paid no regard to an abuse of authority which he knew well had been dictated to the feeble Regent by the imperious cardinal. "My lords," said he to Beaton and the other prelates, at his

[1] The only conventual building in Dundee that escaped the fury of this popular demonstration, was the Nunnery of the Sisters of St. Clare, which is still preserved, and of which the reader will find an illustration in a subsequent page.

trial, "I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful, for the threats and menaces of men, to desist from the preaching of the Evangel; therefore, it is written "we shall rather obey God than men.'" It was equally in vain that John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, reiterated the command that he should preach no more, and clenched it with the curse and excommunication of the Church, "delivering him over into the hands of the devil," as his accusers afterwards themselves expressed it. "My lords, I have also read in the Prophet Malachi, 'I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord.'"

With such a conviction of his duty to God, and of Divine acceptation and benediction in his work, no wonder that the Reformer exposed himself to the charge of "continuing obstinately to preach in Dundee, notwithstanding." So long as Dundee herself, with her Evangelical Constable, Sir John Scrymgeour, and her godly magistrates and burghers, was willing to hear the words of Eternal Life, Wishart was resolved not to desert his post at the bidding either of regent, cardinal, or bishop.

Nunnery of St. Clare, Dundee.

Section 3. RENEWAL OF PERSECUTION—APPEAL TO THE NATION BY ALEXANDER ALESIUS. 1543—1544.

THE Regent was now to turn persecutor of his former friends, and reversing St. Paul's happier case, destroyer of the faith which once he professed. He was not naturally cruel; he would have even been pleased to avoid rekindling the flames of persecution; but he had sold himself to the cardinal to obtain his support; he must now do the Church's work, not his own; and Beaton was not the man to spare him the humiliation and

mortification of having to brand with ignominy, and doom to death, the disciples of a faith which only a few weeks before had been his own.

In a Parliament held at Edinburgh, in December, 1543, the already enormous power of the cardinal, both civil and ecclesiastical, was still further increased by his receiving the Great Seal as Chancellor; an office which placed him at the head of the law and judicature of the kingdom. And further, on the 15th of the same month, the record of Parliament bears that "My lord governor caused to be shown and proclaimed in Parliament to all Estates being there gathered; how there is great murmur that heretics more and more rise and spread within this realm, sowing damnable opinions contrary to the faith and laws of Holy Kirk, and to the acts and constitutions of the realm; exhorting, therefore, all prelates and ordinaries, severally within their own diocese and jurisdiction, to make inquisition after all such manner of persons, and proceed against them according to the laws of Holy Kirk. And my lord governor shall be ready at all times to do therein what accords him of his office." The Regent is now plainly a mere puppet in the hands of the cardinal, his mere tool and mouthpiece. When before did ever such exhortations to prelates to push their cruel inquisitions, and such ostentatious professions of readiness to support them in their oppressive work, come from the lips of a Scottish ruler, presiding in the midst of the great council of the nation? Truly the prelates needed no such spurs to excite them to diligence in such work. But Beaton might think some such harangue from Arran necessary to make men believe that the man, who had aimed only a few months before to break the arm of persecution, was now in earnest to strengthen it with new vigour, and to provide for it new victims.

Thus, in a few short months, all was changed; not only the whole political, but also the whole ecclesiastical policy of the kingdom. The year 1543, which had opened with the brightest hopes for truth and liberty, closed under the darkest shades of disappointment and despondency. All good men had hoped

to see the end of religious oppression, and to witness the good beginning which had been made by the Regent's first Parliament in the work of Reformation, followed up by a course of progressive improvement; but another persecution was now imminent, and the hope of ecclesiastical reform was indefinitely postponed. Many enlightened patriots, who saw clearly that a close union with England was indispensable to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, had hailed the matrimonial treaty with Henry as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the two nations, and as the happy solution of a problem which had awaited solution for centuries; but the fickleness and the perfidy of one man had dashed to the ground the hope of two kingdoms; the flame of war had again burst forth upon the borders, and an invasion of the country from England by land and sea was threatened in the ensuing spring. The state of the nation's affairs at the opening of 1544, was pitiable indeed. The clergy chuckled at their marvellous success, and the cardinal had reached the pinnacle of power; but the country lay bleeding at their feet, under the wounds which they had inflicted; and the friends of the Gospel throughout the land saw themselves menaced by a new reign of terror.

The festivities of Yule were no sooner over, than the Regent and the cardinal, who had spent a merry Christmas in Stirling Castle with the Queen-Dowager, set off, on the 20th of January, on a mission of persecution to Perth and Dundee. They were accompanied by the Earl of Argyle as Lord Justiciary, and Sir John Campbell of Lundy, his deputy; by Lord Bothwick, and several other nobles, and by the Bishops of Dunblane and Orkney. They had made preparations more befitting a campaign than the grave administration of ecclesiastical law; for they took with them a large park of artillery, great and small, dragged by eighty cart-horses, and conducted by twelve pioneers. The heretics of the two towns must have mustered strong indeed, when their judges prepared to meet them with such a display of unspiritual artillery. It must have been

expected that it might be necessary to lay siege to the walls of Perth and Dundee, and force an entrance by cannon shot. What a striking proof of the powerful hold which the Reformation had got upon the public mind in these two important communities!

When the Regent and cardinal arrived at Perth, they found no use for their cannon and pioneers, for the peaceable burghers made no opposition to their entrance; but they soon made ample work for the gallows-tree and the halter. The story of the Martyrs of Perth is one of the most cruel and tragical in the records of Scottish martyrology, and has been told with touching minuteness in the histories of the time; but we prefer to give it in a briefer form, as it occurs in a letter of Alexander Alesius to Melancthon, written only a few months after the event. This letter is preserved in the City Library of Hamburgh, and now, for the first time, sees the light. It is dated the 23d of April, 1544, from Leipzig, where Alesius was now settled as a Professor of Theology.

"To the most famous and honoured man, Dominus Philip Melancthon, his dearest preceptor. Alexander Alesius, S.D.

". . . . Three days ago, there were here several countrymen of mine, who declare that the cardinal rules all things at his pleasure in Scotland, and governs the governor himself. In the town of St. Johnston, he hung up four respectable citizens, for no other cause than because they had requested a monk, in the middle of his sermon, not to depart in his doctrine from the sacred text, and not to mix up notions of his own with the words of Christ. Along with these a most respectable matron, carrying a sucking child in her arms, was haled before the tribunal and condemned to death by drowning. They report that the constancy of the woman was such, that when her husband was led to the scaffold, and mounted the ladder, she followed and mounted along with him, and entreated to be allowed to hang from the same beam. She encouraged him to be of good cheer, for in a few hours, said she, I shall be with Christ along

with you.[1] They declare also, that the governor was inclined to liberate them, but that the cardinal suborned the nobles to threaten that they would leave him if the condemned were not put to death. When the cardinal arrived with his army at Dundee, from which the monks had been expelled, all the citizens took to flight; and when he saw the town quite deserted, he laughed, and remarked, that he had expected to find it full of Lutherans. The King of England has induced the Emperor to issue an order for detaining our Scottish ships in the Belgian ports; and that Scotsmen, wherever they can be found, should be thrown into prison. The King himself invaded Scotland with 40,000 foot, and 300 ships, about the middle of Quadragesima; what success he has had, we have been unable as yet to learn, on account of the sea being everywhere covered with English ships. If you have heard any later news in Wittemberg by way of Denmark, take care to communicate it either to me, or to his Magnificence, our Rector. Farewell. viii. Calend. Maias, 1554.

"Yours,

"ALEXANDER ALESIUS."

These cruel executions at Perth took place on St. Paul's day, the 25th of January, and immediately after, the Regent and his party proceeded with the artillery to Dundee. The flight of the burghers, and the merriment of Beaton at finding himself in such a ridiculous position—loaded with heavy ordnance to fight the Lutherans, and no Lutherans to fight with, after all—are curious circumstances which the letter just given alone has recorded. The destroyers of the monasteries of Dundee, however, did not escape altogether, for in February, several of the citizens were summoned to appear before Sir

[1] Alesius gives a fuller account of the persecutions at Perth, in his Commentary on the Psalms; where he gives the names of the principal sufferers quite correctly, according to other accounts. These were Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Ranoldson, and Helen, the wife of James Ranoldson.

John Campbell, of Lundy, the justice deputy, "for breaking the gates and doors of the Black Friars, and carrying away chalices, vestments, and the eucharist." But what punishment was inflicted upon these tumultuary reformers we have not been told. They had a powerful plea to urge, when they could show that the Regent had confessed that the sack had been made with his own knowledge and consent; and probably this plea would be allowed to prevail before a secular judge. It was not so easy to appease the vengeance of a primate and a cardinal; and this found John Rogers, "a godly, learned Black Friar, who had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns." He was one of many whom Beaton imprisoned at that time, and his prison was the lowest dungeon of the sea-tower of the castle of St. Andrews—a dismal cavern hollowed out of the solid rock, which still remains as a memorial of those fearful times. Here, by order of the cardinal, he was secretly murdered, without even the form of a trial, and his body cast over the castle wall into the sea. When the waves gave up their dead upon the beach, the false rumour was spread by Beaton's attendants, that "the said John, seeking to flee, had broken his own neck." "Thus ceased not Satan," the historian adds, "by *all* means, to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's gospel." And such "a sworn enemy to Christ Jesus, and to all in whom any spark of knowledge appeared," was he, who at this very time was invested with all the powers and honours which the see of Rome could bestow. For it was on the 30th of January, 1544, that the bull of Pope Paul III.[1] was signed and sealed with the ring of the Fisherman, which constituted David Beaton *legatus a latere*, and made him virtually a pope in the Scottish kingdom.

The tidings of these persecutions made a deep impression,

[1] This bull is still extant among the records of the State Paper Office, and a copy of it may be seen in the Collection of Records appended to Burnet's History of the Reformation.

as we have just seen, upon Alesius. A year before, when the news from Scotland were so different, all his German friends expected that nothing would be able to keep him a day longer in Germany, but that he would instantly return to Scotland, from which he had been so long banished, to bear a hand in carrying forward the work of her reformation. But, happily, he had not adopted that course. Probably, the recency of his appointment at Leipzig had induced him to postpone his return. He was thus spared the experience of new trials. But, though still far from the land of his birth, he continued to feel the deepest interest in the strange vicissitudes of joy and grief through which it was passing; and the tidings of what had just happened at Perth and Dundee, determined him to try once more what service he might be able to render, by his pen, to the struggling cause of truth and liberty. In the year 1544, he addressed himself to "the chief nobles, prelates, barons, and whole people of Scotland," in a "*Cohortatio ad Concordiam Pietatis*," &c. or, "Exhortation to Peace and Concord, in the bonds of Christian piety and truth."[1] The piece is instinct throughout with the spirit of true Christian patriotism, as well as with genuine evangelical earnestness and fervour. Lamenting the distraction of the kingdom by opposing political factions—the French faction and the English—he implores his countrymen to lay aside these divisions, and demonstrates, by many examples from classical history, the dangers of national disunion, and the duty of patriotic concord, in defence of the safety and honour of their common country. His expostulations against the oppression and cruelty of the bishops, and his allusions to the martyrs who had suffered in the cause of truth, are full of interest; and his digression, in particular, upon the character and martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, is a noble burst of eloquence and pathos.

[1] The title of this rare tract is as follows: "Cohortatio ad Concordiam Pietatis ac Doctrinæ Christianæ defensionem, missa in patriam ab Alexandro Alesio, Scoto, sacræ theologiæ doctore, 1544."

When he exhorts to national union, he means union in the truth, union in the one great work of purifying religion, and reforming the corruptions of the Church of God. What urgent need there was of such a work, he demonstrates at much length, and with great freedom and faithfulness. Unless the Church of Christ be reformed, it must perish from the earth, and those are its worst enemies, not its real friends, who oppose such indispensable reform. "Everywhere," says he, "we see the church driven forward upon change. Ask even those who are most solicitous for its welfare, and they will tell you that the church can no longer be safe or without troubles, unless it be strengthened by the removal of abuses. If this, then, is a matter of absolute necessity, unless we would see the whole church fall into ruins; if all men confess that this should be done; if facts themselves call with a loud voice that some care should be taken to relieve the labouring church, to purify her depraved doctrine, and to reform her whole corrupt administration, why, I demand, are those evil spoken of, and vilified, who discover and point out the church's vices and evils? Never could the proper remedies have been applied till the disease was known, and yet the men who point it out, with all its virulence and danger, and wish to alleviate or entirely remove it, are hated and persecuted as much as if they had themselves been the cause of it all." With equal force and spirit he repels the cry of innovation, which was raised against the doctrines of the Reformers. What was calumniated as an innovation, ought rather to be regarded as a restoration of most ancient truth. "It is just," says he, "such a change as would take place in the manners of an age, if the gravity, modesty, and frugality of ancient times, took the place of levity, immodesty, luxury, and other vices. Such a change might be called an introduction of what was new, but, in truth, it would be only the bringing back again of what was old. And, in like manner, let us have innovation everywhere, provided only we can get the true for the false, the serious for the trifling, and solid realities for empty dreams."

The conclusion of the piece is in a strain of entreaty and appeal, which was well fitted to impress and solemnize the highest and proudest in the land.

"In whatever estimation I may stand among you, I am at least your fellow-countryman, and as such, I earnestly entreat all and every man; I throw myself at your knees, in the name of God himself, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the salvation of our common country, and of every man among you, I implore, that you will open your eyes, and candidly consider both the past and the present. It is well known to you how many in former days have been banished from their country on the slightest suspicion: some, who spoke out more freely and boldly, have even been put to death. King James, of illustrious memory, acknowledged before his death, that he had been guilty of violence and injustice to many; he commanded those who were exiles for the Gospel to be recalled; and he did his utmost to avert from himself the wrath of God in this behalf. Take care, I beseech you, lest by your fault and heedlessness, the most just wrath of God, which King James so earnestly strove to avert, by his repentance and conversion to God, however late, should flow back again upon you on account of your neglect of his truth, or even enmity and opposition to the Gospel. Call to mind, I pray you, the successions to the Scottish crown which took place in times somewhat farther back, and you will find in these no equivocal signs of the divine vengeance. And do we suppose that God will not punish impiety and wickedness in our own times? Nay, he will do it all the more, and all the more severely, by how much more mercifully and gently he is calling us to repentance, and inviting us to return to the right way. He is commanding us to return to him; he is sending messengers to call us; let not the words of these men be laughed at; let not the men themselves be repelled; do not suffer yourselves to be deceived by the false discourses of those, who exclaim that this new doctrine is a doctrine of turbulence and disorder."

"It is no new doctrine—it is most ancient, or rather it is eter-

nal; for it preaches that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into the world to save sinners, and that remission of sins is obtained by the faith of Him. Of Him even Moses wrote, as He tells us himself; of Him wrote all the prophets. Who should call a doctrine like this new—the old doctrine which runs on through all ages, and is the same in all? Rather let those dogmas be called new, as new they are, by which this doctrine is contaminated and obscured, having been brought in by the audacity, or ambition, or superstition, of those to whom had been entrusted the care of the vineyard of the Lord. For what else have these men done than the men in the Gospel parable, to whom the vineyard was let out? How many men, sent to them by the Lord of the vineyard, have they slain, as the Prophets were slain by the Pharisees of old. Such violence and wrong is in fact done to the Son of God himself; for the community of the church is the body of Christ. Let us not fight against God, in the teeth of our own conscience. Not Nineveh alone was laid waste and overthrown, as had been foretold, though a most mighty city and most powerful kingdom, as a punishment for its sins; but often since then, both in other ages and in our own, have similar examples been given. Let us endeavour at least to postpone a similar overthrow, if we cannot entirely avert it. Confessing our sins, and hating our past life, let us throw ourselves at the feet of Christ; let us hold fast by the hem of his garment; let us regard no other with our eyes than this one and only Saviour and Redeemer, our God and Lord. Thus will God, whose compassion and clemency are infinite, avert from us the punishments which we deserve in this life, and bring us through death to the life everlasting; to whom the only true, eternal, omnipotent and merciful God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be praise, honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

Before this excellent work of Alesius was printed off, it passed through the hands of Melancthon and Luther, by both of whom it was highly approved. How it was received in Scotland, we are not informed; for, like the other

epistles of this long-forgotten patriot and reformer, it is never referred to in our common histories. Like the others too, it has made a narrow escape of perishing entirely from human memory, for it now only survives in a very few copies.

This was the last occasion on which Alesius took any direct part in the history of the Reformation of his native Church. But in 1554, when he published a Latin Commentary upon the Psalms, the interest which he felt in the country of his birth was still deep and active, for that work contains many references, full of the strongest feeling, to the Scottish martyrs who had perished and were still perishing in the long-protracted conflict. He survived to learn the successes of Knox in 1555 and 1559, and to hear the joyful tidings of the final triumph of the cause in 1560. But he did not return to Scotland at that era. He continued to serve the Evangelical Church of Germany, in the theological faculty of the University of Leipzig, till his death in 1565. He was several times rector of the University, and was indefatigable in promoting and defending the interests of true religion both by his writings and public disputations. Melancthon continued to the end of his life in 1560 to honour him with his confidence and friendship, and frequently chose him as his colleague and coadjutor, in the theological conferences which he held both with the theologians of Rome and the teachers of new doctrines in the Evangelical Church. So eminent was his name on the Continent, that when Beza wrote his "Icones," or portraits of the great theologians of the sixteenth century, he introduced the name of Alexander Alesius, as that of a man "who was dear to all the learned—who would have been a distinguished ornament of Scotland if that country had recovered at an earlier period the light of the gospel—and who, when rejected by both Scotland and England, was most eagerly embraced by the evangelical church of Saxony, and continued to be warmly cherished and esteemed by her to the day of his death."

But Alesius was not the only living link of connexion between the Lutheran Churches of the Continent and the

Scottish Reformation. His friend, John McAlpin, shared his long continental exile, and rose to almost equal eminence as a theologian and academic teacher. After his flight from England, in 1540, he staid for a short time at Bremen, where he gave evangelical instruction to San Romnan, the first Protestant martyr of Spain. Early in 1542 he was created Doctor of Theology at Wittemberg, and was soon after invited by Christiern III., King of Denmark, to settle in the University of Copenhagen, in the room of John Bugenhagen Pomeranus, who had returned to Wittemberg. In this influential post, in which he continued till his death, he rendered eminent services to the Danish Church. He was one of the translators of the Scriptures into the Danish tongue, a work which was completed in 1550, and in the preparation of which he was associated with Peter Palladius, and the other members of the theological faculty. The historians of Denmark commemorate his distinguished learning and usefulness; and a good many of his writings, published and in manuscript, still survive. He had assumed at Wittemberg the name of *Maccabaeus*, at the suggestion of Melancthon, and by this surname, which was probably nothing more than a Latinized form of his family cognomen, which was sometimes pronounced Mc Alpy, he continued to be known for the rest of his life. When he died, in 1557, the King of Denmark followed him to his grave, and Melancthon wrote his epitaph.[1]

John Faith was another of these learned Scottish exiles. He was incorporated with the University of Wittemberg in 1540, along with Mc Alpin, and afterwards went by the name of John Fidelis. Having mastered the German language, he was appointed Pastor of the Evangelical Church of Liegnitz, in Silesia; and was subsequently promoted to a theological chair in the University of Francfort-on-the-Oder. For these appointments he was probably indebted to the good offices of

[1] Stephani Historia Danica. Sorae: 1650. In Nyerup's "Litteratur-Lexicon für Dänmark," &c., may be seen a list of Maccabaeus's works.

Melancthon, who seems to have taken a peculiarly warm interest in the fortunes of all these Scottish exiles. There is a letter of Melancthon, still extant, addressed to John Fidelis at Francfort, in 1556, in which he introduces to him a Scotchman, named Linus or Lyne, as a man of learning and true piety, and in which, after reminding him that it is the will of God that we should show hospitality to such guests, he remarks, "For my part, I think we Germans owe a special debt of gratitude to the Scottish nation; because in former times we received from them both Christianity and letters, when the Churches of Germany had been overrun and ruined by the Heneti and the Huns."[1]

[1] Becman, in his "Notitia Universitatis Francofurtanæ," states that John Fidelis Scotus was Rector of the University in 1551, and that he died in 1562.

Cowgate Port, Dundee.

Section 4. Wishart's Preaching in Dundee and Ayrshire. 1544—1545.

Happily for the cause of the Reformation in the evil days upon which it had again fallen, there was still one powerful living preacher who stood forth to defend it in one of its chief strongholds, and whose fervent appeals from the pulpit could do more to plead for it, and sustain the sinking hearts of its friends, than any letters, however excellent, from reformers in distant exile. George Wishart was still preaching on the Epistle to the Romans, in the zealous burgh of Dundee, and multitudes were

Melancthon, who seems to have taken a peculiarly warm interest in the fortunes of all these Scottish exiles. There is a letter of Melancthon, still extant, addressed to John Fidelis at Francfort, in 1556, in which he introduces to him a Scotchman, named Linus or Lyne, as a man of learning and true piety, and in which, after reminding him that it is the will of God that we should show hospitality to such guests, he remarks, "For my part, I think we Germans owe a special debt of gratitude to the Scottish nation; because in former times we received from them both Christianity and letters, when the Churches of Germany had been overrun and ruined by the Heneti and the Huns."[1]

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Beaton's mercy. The magistrates were overawed by his threats, and Robert Mill, a man who had himself been formerly a sufferer for the truth, consented to be the instrument of carrying out his demands. Wishart was in the pulpit, surrounded by a great congregation, including the Earl Mareshal and others of the nobility, when Mill entered the Church, and charged him, in the queen and governor's name, to depart from the town and trouble it no more. "Whereupon, he mused a little space with his eyes bent unto the heavens, and then looking sorrowfully to the people, he said, 'God is my witness that I minded ever your comfort and not your trouble, which to me is more grievous than to yourselves. But, sure I am, to reject the Word of God and drive away his messengers is not the way to save you from trouble. When I am gone, God will send you messengers who will not be afraid either for horning or banishment.[1] I have with the hazard of my life remained among you, preaching the word of salvation; and now, since yourselves refuse me, I must leave my innocency to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth; and if trouble unexpected fall upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God by repentance, for He is merciful.' These words pronounced, he came down from the pulpit, and declining the earnest request of Earl Mareshal to accompany him into the northern parts of the kingdom, 'with all possible expedition, he passed to the westland.'"

Our historians have accustomed us to associate with the name of George Wishart, mainly the two ideas of heroism and gentleness; heroism as a confessor, and gentleness as a man. But it is plain from the above address, and from several other incidents of his life, that upon just occasions he could be stern as well as gentle, and that he could speak as firmly and faithfully of the duty of others, as he could act heroically in fulfilment of his own. According to Tylney's account of him, he was a strict disciplinarian as a college regent, and the

[1] Horning, or being put to the horn, means to be denounced and outlawed for rebellion.

remains of his sermons show that he was a disciplinarian in the pulpit as well as in the schools. His voice had often the solemn tones of a prophet, as well as the gentler notes of an evangelist.

Wishart had made the acquaintance of the Earl of Glencairn in England, and it was probably this tie, as well as the Lollard traditions of Kyle, "that ancient receptacle of God's people," which drew him to the west. During his sojourn there, he preached commonly at the kirk of Galstone, and was frequently a guest at the house of John Lockhart of Barr. Interesting notices have also been preserved of his preachings in Ayr and Mauchline. In Ayr he was obliged to preach at the market-cross, because the Archbishop of Glasgow had first got possession of the church. Instigated by the cardinal to a new effort of reluctant zeal, Dunbar had hastened from Glasgow, "with his jackmen," to oppose and apprehend the Reformer, and had hoped by the aid of these carnal weapons at once to end the strife. But upon the first notice of his arrival, Glencairn and other barons hurried into the town to defend the preacher, and proposed to dispute possession of the church with the Archbishop by force of arms. "But to this Maister George utterly repugned, saying, 'Let him alone, his sermon will not much hurt; let us go to the market-cross.' And so they did; where he made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded."

As for Dunbar, he had few to hear him but his own jackmen, and his sermon was notable only for its weakness. "The sum of all his sermon was, 'They say that we should preach—why not? Better late thrive than never thrive. Hold us still for your bishop, and we shall provide better the next time.' This was the beginning and end of the bishop's discourse, who with haste departed the town, but returned not again to fulfil his promise."

Wishart gave another example of the same noble moderation, and confidence in the unaided power of Gospel truth, in what took place soon after at Mauchline. Having been invited to preach there, he consented to do so; but Sir Hugh Campbell

of Loudoun, who was sheriff of the county, took possession of the church with a band of armed men, in order to exclude him from the pulpit. Sir Hugh feared for the safety of a beautiful tabernacle which stood upon the altar. "Some zealous men, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, offended that they should be debarred their own parish kirk, concluded to enter by force. But Maister George withdrew him, and said unto him, 'Brother, Christ Jesus is as potent upon the fields as in the kirk, and he himself preached oftener in the desert, at the sea-side, and in other places judged profane, than he did in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace which God sends by me. The blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it.' And so withdrawing the whole people, he came to a dyke in the edge of a moor, upon the south-west side of Mauchline, upon the which he ascended. The whole multitude stood and sat about him: God gave the day pleasing and hot. He continued in preaching more than three hours. In that sermon, God wrought so wonderfully with him, that one of the most wicked men in that country, the Laird of Scheill, was converted. The tears ran down from his eyes in such abundance that all men wondered; and his conversion was without hypocrisy, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all time to come."

This is the first time we read of field-preaching in the history of Scottish evangelism; the stones of a "dry dyke" serving for a pulpit, and the tufts of moss and moor-heather for benches and faldstools. And was not that scene at Mauchline—a fervent evangelist preaching for three hours at a time, and a vast congregation of worshippers fixed to the turf in mute attention, and God "working wonderfully" with the word, and tears of repentance rolling down the cheeks of stalwart men and hardened sinners—was it not what Christian men in our own time would call a revival? Yes; the Reformation of the sixteenth century was undoubtedly a great movement of religious revival. Its aspect as a mighty work of ecclesiastical reform was only the outside manifestation of its inner soul and spirit

as a wide-spread spiritual awakening; and if there had been no spiritual awakening, there would have been no effectual ecclesiastical reform. With regard to Scotland, in particular, nobody can doubt that if the Spirit of God had not breathed the breath of new religious life into a large number of souls throughout the kingdom, a Reformation of the Church would have been impossible. There was no country in Christendom where the Papal Church was so rich and powerful in proportion to the wealth and influence of the rest of the nation; and there was none where the struggle, which issued in its downfal, was so long protracted. It required no less than thirty-five years of conflict and suffering to work out the great change. Could anything less than a mighty re-quickening of religious feeling in the heart of the nation, have carried it successfully through such a conflict, and given it the victory over such a gigantic foe? If ever there were preachers of the Gospel who were eminently godly and devoted men, Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, were a trio of such men. And their word was with power. Great numbers who heard them woke up to "newness of life," and it was the power of this new life, in the party of the Reformers, which at last achieved the ecclesiastical revolution of the Reformation.

While Wishart was thus occupied in the west of Scotland, rumours ere long reached him that the plague had broken out in Dundee. One of those "messengers of God" which he had forewarned its citizens of, "not to be effrayed for horning, nor yet for banishment," had been sent to them sooner than he expected. The fatal disease had begun to show itself only a few days after his departure, and it shortly became so vehement, that the numbers who died every four and twenty hours were almost incredible. The pestilence would seem to have followed upon the heels of a famine, for a contemporary chronicler informs us that "in this time many people died with great scant and want of victuals, and the pest was wonder great in all boroughs-towns of this realm."

On learning the certainty of these evil tidings, Wishart instantly

took leave of his friends and followers in Kyle. They lamented his departure, and entreated him to remain, but no urgency could constrain him to delay his return to Dundee. "They are now in trouble," said he, "and they need comfort. Perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that Word, which before, for fear of men, they set at light price." The joy of the plague-smitten town, on hearing of his arrival, was exceeding great. Without delay, he announced that he would preach on the morrow. The most part of the inhabitants were either sick themselves, or in attendance upon their sick relatives and friends. They could not assemble in the church. They were crowded in and about the lazar-houses, near "the East Port" of the town, and Wishart chose for his preaching place the top of the Cowgate port or gate. "The sick and suspected sat without the port, the healthy sat or stood within." The text of his first sermon was these words of the 107th Psalm, "*He sent his Word and healed them.*" "O Lord," he began, "it is neither herb nor plaster, but thy Word that healeth all." "In the which sermon," says Knox, "he most comfortably did treat of the dignity and utility of God's Word, the punishment that comes for contempt of the same, the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to Him; yea, the great happiness of those whom God takes from this misery, even in his own gentle visitation, which the malice of man can neither add to, nor take from. By the which sermon he so raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged those more happy that should depart than such as should remain behind, considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times."

It has not been noticed by our historians that the locality where Wishart preached during this season of public distress, gave a peculiar significance to the text of his first address from the top of the East Port. Just outside the gate stood the ancient Chapel of St. Roque; and St. Roque, in popular belief, was the helper of men in time of plague and pestilence. Hence the erection of the ancient lazar-houses of the town in that locality;

and hence, too, in all probability, the choice of the Reformer's first text, "'*He* sent his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.' It is God, not St. Roque, who is the healer of the plague-stricken; look unto Him and be ye saved. It is to Him you must turn your languid eyes, not to the image and shrine of St. Roque."

It was not only, however, by his powerful and consoling preaching, that Wishart ministered on this occasion to the sick and dying inhabitants of Dundee. He was equally assiduous in his attentions to their bodily wants. Regardless of the danger of contagion, "he spared not to visit those that lay in the very extremity, he comforted them as well as he might in such a multitude, and he caused all things necessary to be ministered to those who were well enough to eat and drink;" taking care so to apply the beneficent aid which was obtained from the public funds of the town, "that the poor were no more neglected than were the rich."

Prodigal of his life in this public mortality, Wishart entirely forgot not only the peril of contagion, but also the hazards which he ran at the hand of the fanatic and assassin. He forgot that he had been placed by the ban of the Church, and the outlawry of the state, beyond the protection of law, and that any man might take his life without a crime. In truth, his enemy the cardinal was again upon his track, and, thirsting for his blood, had suborned a wretched priest to dispatch him with a dagger, in the very midst of his labour of love. "Upon a day, the sermon being ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, and therefore not heeding Maister George, a priest, called John Wighton, stood waiting at the foot of the steps which led up to the top of the gate; his gown loose, and his dagger drawn in his hand under his gown. Maister George, being most sharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near, he said, 'My friend, what would ye do?' and therewith he clapped his hand upon the priest's hand wherein the dagger was, which he took from him. The priest abashed, fell down at his feet and openly confessed the verity as it was. The

noise rising and coming to the ears of the sick, they cried out, 'Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force,' and so they burst in at the gate. But Maister George took him in his arms, and said, 'Whosoever troubles him, shall trouble me, for he has hurt me in nothing, but he has done great comfort both to you and to me; to wit, he has letten us understand what we may fear in times to come: we will watch better.' And so he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his."

"He saved the life of him who sought his." "Whosoever troubles him, shall trouble me." Can the man who spoke and acted thus, have been the same man as "a Scotishman called Wishart," who is mentioned in a letter of the Earl of Hertford, dated the 17th of April, 1544, "as privy to a conspiracy to assassinate Cardinal Beaton, and as employed to carry letters between the conspirators and the English court"? So some of our historians have conjectured, especially in our own time. But never surely was there a conjecture (for it is nothing more) more violently improbable, or more injurious to the memory of a good man, and an eminent benefactor of his country. Certainly the spirit of moderation and forbearance, the disapprobation of violence, and the hatred of blood, manifested by Wishart in the affair of priest Wighton, in Dundee, and on several other occasions mentioned in the preceding narrative, were very unlike the fierce and violent passions which prompted some of the enemies of Beaton to enter into such a conspiracy. Is it conceivable, or without good evidence credible, that a man such as Tylney has described, with a character so lofty, so pure, so gentle, and so beneficent, would lend his sanction to a deliberate scheme of blood, and would even degrade himself to act a very subordinate part in the plot—to be a carrier of letters from men who were basely bargaining for the price of murder, to other men who were so ashamed to be seen in the conspiracy, that though they wished it for their own ends to be successful, they refused to give any formal promise of the price which was demanded? Surely, instead of "sorrowfully" confessing,

as a recent historian does,[1] that there is a "strong presumption" that George Wishart was connected with such a conspiracy, we ought to answer indignantly to such a charge, that the strong presumption is all the other way. For what is the whole basis of proof upon which this alleged presumption is made to rest? The only fact that is produced in support of it is, that Wishart was personally acquainted with several or all of the men who were engaged in the conspiracy, and that he sympathized generally in their ecclesiastical and political views. But is that fact a sufficient warrant for subjecting him to such a grave and injurious suspicion? Is every individual of a whole party to be held capable of approving of, and taking part in, whatever extreme and desperate measures are suggested and plotted by any two or three of the party? Admitting that Wishart, as the great preacher of the Reforming party, was acquainted with all its leading men, is that to be considered adequate historical proof that he, and not some other person of the same family name, was the person alluded to in Hertford's letter? There were other members of the family of Pittarrow who shared in the same religious and political views; why should he be thus singled out for suspicion from all the rest? There were other Wisharts in Scotland besides the Wisharts of Pittarrow; why might not the individual alluded to have been one of them? Besides, there is good evidence to show that the Reformer was preaching in Dundee, at the very time when he is alleged to have been carrying letters to London. Knox informs us that he continued to preach there from the time of his first visit till he was charged by Robert Mill, in the queen's name, to depart. But this took place shortly before the plague appeared in the town, and the date usually assigned, both by general and local historians, to that incident, is the summer of 1544. In the spring of that year, then, Wishart must have been still in Dundee; that is, at the very season when he is alleged to have been absent in England.

So much for the properly historical evidence bearing upon the question. As to the allegation made use of to weaken the

[1] Rev. John Cunningham, in his Church History of Scotland.

improbability of a man of Wishart's high religious character giving any countenance to such a plot, that religious fanaticism is able to blind the eyes of men to the most palpable distinctions between right and wrong, it is enough to reply, that before this general observation is directed against any particular historical personage, the fact should first be established that he was a fanatic. But no evidence of such a fact is produceable in the case of Wishart, unless we assume the very point which has to be proved—his complicity in this conspiracy. It may be true, also, that if this conspiracy had taken effect in Wishart's lifetime, he would have rejoiced, as Knox rejoiced, in the deliverance thus wrought for the afflicted cause of God, as a dispensation of Divine Providence. No doubt he would have seen the hand of God in it as an avenging judge and a righteous deliverer, as Knox saw it. But to show that even in that age of high-wrought feeling and religious passion, wise and good men made a distinction between what God permitted and overruled, and what was right for men to do and approve, it may suffice to refer to the judgment of Sir David Lindsay upon the assassination of Beaton, when it actually took place :—

> "As for the Cardinal, I grant
> He was the man we weel could want,
> And we'll forget him soon;
> And yet I think, the sooth to say,
> Although the loon is weel away,
> The deed *was foully done.*"

But are we never to hear the last of this rash and groundless calumny upon the name and memory of one of the most honoured and beloved of our "Scottish Worthies"? We lament that it should still be repeated and countenanced by the writers of our time. Can they not condemn a guilty conspiracy without themselves seeming to conspire against a name which is justly dear to almost a whole nation? Where is the historical justice of blotting such a name upon mere suspicion; upon evidence which would be deemed in any court of law insufficient to convict any man, even the worst, of any crime, even the most insignificant?

Haddington Church.

Section 5. WISHART'S LAST LABOURS. 1545—1546.

WISHART continued his labours in Dundee till the plague ceased. The date of his departure has not been given, but it was probably late in the year 1545. "God," he remarked on leaving, "has almost put an end to the battle in Dundee, I find myself called to another."

The new battle he alluded to was a public disputation which he expected soon to maintain with the Romish bishops and doctors in Edinburgh. A provincial Council was to assemble there, in January, 1546, and "the Gentlemen of the West," including the Earl of Cassilis, had resolved to appear before the council and demand a public disputation between the Romish theolo-

gians and Wishart. They had previously written to the Reformer, and obtained his consent. The risks, or rather the certain dangers of such a "battle," to a man who was under the ban of the church, were indeed obvious; but the effects of a public discussion could not fail to be beneficial to the cause of truth. The battle, however, soon proved to be of another kind; not a public disputation, but a public martyrdom. Every day that such a man was suffered to live, was a day of new losses to the church, and the cardinal was on the watch for the first opportunity of seizing his prey.

Before proceeding to Edinburgh, Wishart passed from Dundee to Montrose, "to salute the Kirk" there. During his stay he occupied himself sometimes in preaching, but, for the most part, "in meditation, in which he was so earnest, that night and day he would continue in it." He was, no doubt, preparing himself for the conflict of argument to which he was looking forward, arranging his plans of attack and defence, and making ready the weapons of Scripture and learning, by which he hoped to prevail. "While he was thus occupied with his God," a letter was put into his hand, purporting to come from his most familiar friend, the Laird of Kinneir, in Fife, and desiring him to come to him with all possible diligence, "for he was stricken with a sudden sickness." The messenger brought a horse for his use, which he mounted without delay, and, accompanied by a few of his friends, he rode out of the town. But after going a little way, he suddenly stopped short, and exclaimed, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am sure there is treason; let some of you go to yonder place," pointing, as he spoke, to a particular spot near the road, about a mile and a half from the town, "and tell me what you find." Astonished at his words, his friends moved forward upon the road to ascertain their truth. They found the treason, as he had said. An ambush had been laid for him: threescore men, armed with jacks and spears, were lying in wait to dispatch him. And who was the author of the treason? Who had forged the letter, and suborned the assassins? It was the implacable and unscrupulous cardinal. "I

know," said Wishart, as he turned his horse's head back again to the town; "I know that I shall finish my life in that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be after this manner." God had rescued him from the hands of hired assassins, that his death might take place in circumstances where the sacrifice would be more honourable to the martyr, and more useful to the cause of truth.

The time now drew near when he had engaged to meet the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham in the capital, and he prepared to take leave of his friends in Montrose. The narrow escape which he had just made alarmed them for his safety in undertaking such a journey, and John Erskine of Dun, and others, did their utmost to dissuade him from the design. But he felt bound by his engagement. He must go where public duty calls him, at whatever risk. Christ-like, and with all a martyr's constancy and courage, "he steadfastly set his face to go up to Jerusalem."

But the martyr after all is still only a man. He has his hours of weakness like other men, to remind him that he can only be strong in the strength of God, and to remind posterity that even an Elijah and a John the Baptist, though seemingly of more than mortal mould, are, in truth, only men of like passions and infirmities with ourselves. On his way to the prison and the stake, George Wishart felt, for a time, the inward recoil of nature from sufferings so full of anguish to flesh and blood; and it was only after a struggle with all the weakness of the man, that he was raised by Divine might to all the strength of the martyr. This touching incident befel him upon his road to Edinburgh; at Invergowry, a village two miles west of Dundee. Spending a night in the house of James Watson, "a faithful brother" there, it was observed by two of his friends that he passed forth from his chamber into the garden a little before sunrise; and there, says Knox, relating the story as he had it from William Spadin and John Watson, the two friends referred to, "when he had gone up and down in an alley for a reasonable space, with many sobs and deep groans, he sunk down upon his knees,

and sitting thereon his groans increased, and from his knees he fell upon his face, and then they heard weeping, and an indigest sound, as it were of prayer, in the which he continued near an hour, and after began to be quiet; and so arose and came in to his bed. Then began they to demand, as though they had been ignorant, where he had been; but that night he would answer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again. 'Maister George,' said they, 'be plain with us, for we heard your groans; yea, we heard your bitter mourning, and saw you both upon your knees and upon your face.' With dejected visage he said, 'I had rather you had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable to you, for I was scarce weill occupied.' When they pressed him to let them know some comfort, he said, 'I will tell you that I am assured my travail is near an end, and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes hot.'" These words revealed the nature of the struggle through which he had passed. But he had left his weakness at God's feet; he had risen from the earth with renovated strength, like a giant refreshed with wine; and the interesting dialogue with his two friends ended with these remarkable words: "'God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Evangel, as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemy imagine to the contrary) the very cope stone. Neither,' continued he, 'shall this be long delayed. There shall not many suffer after me, till that the glory of God shall evidently appear, and shall once for all triumph in despite of Satan. But alas! if the people shall afterwards be unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that shall follow after it.' And with these words he marched forwards on his journey towards St. Johnston, and so to Fife, and then to Leith." "He *marched* forward," says Knox, a man of kindred spirit, who knew the right word to use upon such an occasion. It was the only word that could express the now firm and bounding step with which the "good soldier of Jesus Christ, enduring hard-

ness," went forward to meet danger and death at the bidding of the Great Captain.

When he reached Leith he found that his Ayrshire correspondents had not yet arrived; and being now entirely without protection, he was willing for a day or two to keep himself secret. "But beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit, and being demanded of the cause, he said, 'What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? To this time God has used my labours in the instruction of others, and unto the disclosing of darkness; but now I lurk as a man that were ashamed, and durst not show himself.' By these and like words they that heard him understood that his desire was to preach, and therefore said, 'Maist comfortable it were unto us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire you.' 'But dare you and others hear,' said he, 'and then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him.' Finally it was concluded that the next Sunday he should preach in Leith, which he did, and took for his text the parable of the sower that went forth to sow."

It was now the 12th of December, and the Regent and cardinal were expected shortly in Edinburgh to keep Yule, and prepare for the coming council. It was not deemed expedient therefore that Wishart should continue any longer in Leith, and he went in succession to the houses of Alexander Crichton of Brunston, Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, and John Cockburn of Ormiston. It was at this time that John Knox was first introduced to Wishart. He was already "an earnest professor of Christ Jesus," and was employed as a tutor in the family of Hugh Douglas. Sharing warmly in the attachment of his patron to the Reformer's person and ministry, he waited constantly upon him from the time of his arrival in Lothian, and obtained the singular honour of carrying before him, wherever he went, a large two-handed sword.

Wishart had a presentiment that his time was short, and he filled up every day with godly labours. Before another Sunday

came round the Regent and cardinal had arrived in Edinburgh; but this did not deter him from preaching on that day, which was the 18th of December, in the church of Inveresk, where there was a great gathering to hear him. His discourse was a vehement denunciation of the idolatrous worship of Rome. Sir George Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus, was present, and openly declared at the end of the service, that he would not only maintain the doctrine he had heard, but also the person of the teacher to the uttermost of his power. "I know," said he, "that my lord governor and my lord cardinal will hear that I have been at this preaching. Say unto them that I will avow it." As he spoke these last bold words of defiance, Douglas glared at two grey friars who had entered the church while Wishart was preaching, and who were no doubt spies sent by the vigilant cardinal to report to him the preacher's words.

Still looking for intelligence from the west, Wishart's next remove was to Longniddry; and on the two following Sundays he preached at Tranent, "with the like grace and the like confluence of people. In all his sermons after his departure from Angus, he forespoke the shortness of the time that he had to travail, and of his death, the day whereof he said approached nearer than any would believe."

It was now Christmas-tide, and during the holy-days of Yule the people were accustomed to resort to the churches daily. To make the most of such an opportunity, Wishart moved forward to Haddington, where the largest congregation in that district might be expected. Knox accompanied him as before, and his narrative of what passed at Haddington has all the graphic vividness which might be looked for from an eye and ear-witness; for it is to be remembered that Wishart's enthusiastic sword-bearer was also his first and only biographer. "The first day, before noon, the audience in the great church of the town was reasonably large, and yet nothing in comparison of that which used to be in that kirk; but the afternoon and the next day following, before noon, the auditure was so slender

that many wondered. The cause was judged to have been that the Earl of Bothwell, who in those bounds had great credit and obedience, by procurement of the cardinal had given inhibition, as well to the town as to the country, that they should not hear him under the pain of his displeasure. The first night he lay within the town, in the house of David Forres, a man that long had professed the truth. The second night he lay in Lethington, the laird whereof—Sir Richard Maitland—was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion. The day following, before the said Maister George passed to the sermon, there came to him a boy with a letter from the West land, which received and read, he called for John Knox, with whom he began to enter in purpose, that he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to weary of God. The cause of his complaint was, the gentlemen of the west had written to him that they could not keep diet at Edinburgh. The said John Knox, wondering that he desired to keep any purpose (*i. e.* hold any conversation) before sermon, (for that was never his accustomed use before) said, 'Sir, the time of sermon approaches; I will leave you for the present to your meditation,' and so took the bill containing the purpose aforesaid, and left him.

"The said Maister George spaced up and down behind the high altar more than half an hour. His very countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his mind. At last he passed to the pulpit, but the auditure was small. He should have begun to have entreated the second table of the law. But thereof in that sermon he spake very little, but began on this manner; 'O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation. I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at a vain clerk-play[1] two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the eternal God,

[1] An allusion to the sacred dramas called mysteries, which were performed by the clergy in the churches at the high festivals of the Christian year.

of all thy town and parish cannot be numbered a hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plague be that shall ensue this thy contempt. With fire and sword thou shalt be plagued. Yea! thou Haddington in special, strangers shall possess thee, and you, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations, and that because ye have not known, nor will not know, the time of God's merciful visitation.' In such vehemency and threatening continued that servant of God near an hour and a half, in the which he declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end, he said, 'I have forgotten myself and the matter that I should have entreated; but let these my last words, as concerning public preaching, remain in your minds till that God send you new comfort.' Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the second table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy; and so put end, as it were making his last testament; as the issue declared that the spirit of truth and of true judgment was both in his heart and head; for that same night was he apprehended before midnight in the house of Ormiston."

John Knox, it will be observed, regarded these predictions of Wishart as true and proper prophecies. Tytler and others explain them on the unsupported assumption that Wishart was privy to the hostile plans of England, through Brunston and others who were in correspondence with Henry's officers; an explanation which implies the offensive imputation that, while he assumed the air and tone of a prophet, he was availing himself of the secrets of a treasonable correspondence. For ourselves, we utterly disbelieve that such a man as Wishart was capable of practising upon the people such a dishonourable deception; or that such a man as Knox was capable, in his history, of abetting and carrying on the delusion. But we do not think it necessary to adopt the view of Knox, any more than we can concur for a moment in the unworthy imputations of Tytler. There was entire earnestness and good faith in

Wishart's predictions, but they can be sufficiently accounted for without referring them to supernatural foresight. The language of such predictions as those of Wishart and of Knox himself, is no more than the vivid and graphic utterance of a strong and earnest faith in the presence and providence of God as a ruler among men. "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" was, with them, a truth as real and a fact as certain, as the truth and the fact that earthly governments are bound, and have the right and power, to execute just judgment upon transgressors. Will God let sin go unpunished, either in individuals, or churches, or political communities, even in this world? No! He will not; He cannot. As God liveth, the wickedness of a corrupt, and cruel, and oppressive Church shall assuredly be brought to nought. The carelessness and unbelief of any city or people that despiseth the word and the salvation of God shall assuredly be punished, as God liveth. The punishment is as certain as God's own being. It may be still future; but it is as sure to come as if it were actually present. In the sense of a faith in God like this, a faith in things unseen which makes them as real as the things of sight, every true minister of God's word is a prophet and a seer, and not only sees what is coming, but foreshows and foretells it. And the only difference between prophet-preachers like Wishart and Knox, and the more ordinary homilists of our own time, is, that their faith in God and his moral government was a great deal stronger and more realizing than that of their successors. They believed as though they beheld, and therefore they both foresaw clearly and foretold distinctly; we believe much less strongly and vividly, and therefore, though the sons of the prophets, and proud of our descent, we have much less of the prophetic spirit ourselves.

Elphingston Tower.

Section 6. WISHART'S APPREHENSION, TRIAL, AND MARTYRDOM. 1546.

BEFORE setting out to Ormiston, where he was to spend the night, Wishart took an affectionate leave of Hugh Douglas and John Knox at Haddington. The latter pressed to be allowed to accompany him to Ormiston, but Wishart said, "Nay! return to your bairns (meaning his pupils), and God bless you; one is sufficient for a sacrifice." Knox with great reluctance gave up the sword which he had carried

before him, and returned to Longniddry, never to see him again in this world.

He was accompanied on foot to Ormiston by John Cockburn of Ormiston, Alexander Crichton of Brunston, and John Sandelands, younger, of Calder; and after supper addressed them in cheerful terms on the death of God's chosen children. He then added, "Methinks that I desire earnestly to sleep. Shall we sing a psalm?" and so he selected the 51st Psalm, in Scottish metre, beginning thus:—

> Have mercy on me now, good Lord,
> After thy great mercy, &c.

Which being ended, he passed to his chamber, and sooner than his common time was, passed to bed, with these words, "God grant quiet rest." But the hour which he had long anticipated was now come. Before midnight the house was beset with horsemen, and the Reformer was demanded to be given up in the queen's name.

On the sixteenth day of January, 1546, the Regent and cardinal arrived after night-fall at Elphingston Tower, in the neighbourhood of Ormiston, with five hundred men, and despatched the Earl of Bothwell to apprehend Wishart, holding themselves in readiness, if need were, to support him by force. As soon as the Reformer became aware of his errand, he cried out to Cockburn and his other friends, "Open the gates, the blessed will of my God be done." The earl being admitted with some other gentlemen who accompanied him, Wishart addressed him thus: "I praise my God that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receives me this night in the presence of these noblemen, for now I am assured, that for your honour's sake, you will suffer nothing to be done unto me contrary to the order of law. I am not ignorant that their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints; but yet I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered."

Bothwell gave a solemn promise that he would not only

preserve his body from all violence that might be purposed against him, without order of law, but also that neither the governor nor the cardinal should have their will of him; "but I shall retain you," he added, "in my own hands, and in my own place, till that either I shall make you free, or else restore you in the same place where I receive you." As resistance was hopeless, Wishart's friends were glad to receive these assurances from Bothwell. Their revered preacher, they thought, would at least be safer in his hands than in those of the cardinal; and after solemn promises made, and "hands struck" in the presence of God, they sorrowfully surrendered him into his power.

Wishart was first conveyed to Elphingston Tower, then on the morrow to Edinburgh, and next, in fulfilment of Bothwell's engagement, to Hailes Castle in East Lothian, the principal residence of that nobleman. This last move, however, was only a blind to conceal his real design. Wishart was a valuable prize in Bothwell's hands, and the earl, a man without principle or honour, was only solicitous to sell him into the hands of his enemies at the highest price. The cardinal, the Regent, and the queen dowager, all joined in soliciting him to give up the prisoner; and as early as the 19th of January, he was induced to appear before the Regent and lords of council, and "bound and obliged himself to deliver Maister George Wishart to my lord governor, or any others in his behalf, whom he will depute to receive him, betwixt this and the penult day of January, and shall keep him surely and answer for him in the mean time, under all the highest pain and charge that he may incur, if he fails herein." The Reformer was accordingly brought back from Hailes, in terms of this infamous pact, and first lodged as the governor's prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh; and then, soon afterwards, transferred to the hands of his deadly enemy the cardinal. What treachery and baseness in Bothwell! What criminal weakness in the Regent! What eager thirst for Protestant blood in the cardinal, and what craft and address in using other men to work out the purposes of his own hate and revenge!

The scene now shifts to St. Andrews, where Wishart lay for a month in irons in the Sea-tower of the Castle. The cardinal had appointed his trial to take place on the last day of February, and had summoned all the bishops and other dignitaries of the church, to be present at the solemn *auto da fé*, on which he was now resolved. It was in vain that the governor had sent him word, "that he should do well not to precipitate the man's trial, but to delay it until his coming; for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause were truly examined, and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation that the man's blood should be required at his hands." Beaton haughtily replied that he had not written unto the governor to ask his concurrence, "as though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with a show of public consent, which, since he could not obtain, he would himself do that which he held most fitting."

On the morning of the 28th day of February, 1546, the Tribunal of Heresy was constituted with great pomp and solemnity in the cathedral; and George Wishart was brought from the Sea-tower by the Captain of the Castle at the head of a hundred men, armed with jacks, spears, and axes. As he entered the church, he threw his purse to a poor man lying at the door, who asked alms. John Wynram, sub-prior of the Abbey and dean of the Cathedral, opened the proceedings with a sermon, which formed a singular prelude to what followed. He took for his text the parable of the sower, and explained it in a way which must have been much more satisfactory to the Reformer at the bar, than to the prelates and doctors on the tribunal. The good seed, he said, was the Word of God, and the evil seed was heresy. But what was heresy? "Heresy," said Wynram, "is a false opinion, defended with pertinacity, clearly repugnant to the Word of God;" a definition which entirely ignored the dogmas of the church. Passing to the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms, he declared it to be the ignorance of those who had

the care of men's souls; "to whom," said he, "it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to win again the false teachers of heresies with the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome, as saith Paul, 'a bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove that which they say against him.'" If Sir David Lindsay had been in the pulpit, he could not have spoken more plainly what the bishops needed to hear. Once more demanded the preacher, how heresies should be known? and "heresies," quoth he, "may be known in this manner: As the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone; that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God."

Never was a tribunal of bishops so unfortunate in their preacher. It was a wonder that the cardinal, in the plenitude of his legantine powers, did not command Wynram to go down from the pulpit, and take his place beside Wishart at the bar. The truth is, the dean was a reformer at heart, and had long been so; and he lived to become one of the first Superintendents of the Reformed church.

The sermon over, the reading of the "articles" of the accused began. Right over against Wishart stood John Lauder, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, holding in his hand a long roll, from which he commenced to read a series of accusations of heresy, accompanied with so many heavy maledictions, and "hitting him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth would have swallowed him up alive on the spot." At last Lauder concluded by demanding, in the most violent manner, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnigat, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?" Wishart, who had listened to the accuser with great patience, "not once moving or changing his countenance, fell down upon his knees on hearing these last

words, and made his prayer to God," which done, he rose again, and made answer in this manner: "Many and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man; many words abominable to hear ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I ever thought it great abomination. Wherefore, I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lords, I desire to be heard for three causes; the first, for the glory and honour of God, which is made manifest through preaching of his word; the second, for your own health, because your health springeth of the Word of God; and the third, for the safeguard of my life, that I perish not unjustly to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore I beseech your discretions to hear me, and in the meantime I shall recite my doctrine without any colour." The Reformer was then proceeding to declare what doctrine he had taught ever since he came into the realm, when Lauder suddenly interrupted him, crying out with great vehemence, "Thou heretic, runnigat, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand without any authority of the church; we repent that thou hast been a preacher so long." And then said the whole congregation of the prelates and their accomplices these words: "If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Perceiving that a fair and impartial hearing was to be denied him, the Reformer appealed from the cardinal to an indifferent and equal judge. Whereupon, Lauder exclaimed, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm? Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Bishop of Miropoix, Legatus natus, Legatus a latere? Is not he an equal judge, apparently, to thee? whom other desirest thou to be thy judge?" To whom Wishart mildly replied, "I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the Word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate with some of your lordships to be mine auditors; because I am here my lord governor's prisoner." The plea was

a good one. Wishart had been given up by Bothwell to the Regent, not to the cardinal, and it was contrary to the Regent's desire that the cardinal had hurried on the present trial. But his appeal to the governor was received with derision by the tribunal. "Such man, such judge," some exclaimed, meaning the governor to be a heretic as well as himself. "And immediately the tribunal would have given sentence upon the accused, and that without farther process, had not certain men counselled my lord cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation."

His Articles were eighteen in number, and turned chiefly upon the doctrine which he was alleged to have taught respecting the seven sacraments of the Church of Rome. The third article was this, "Thou, false heretic, preachest against the sacraments, saying that there are not seven sacraments;" to which Wishart replied, "My lords, if it be your pleasure, I taught never of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and are shown to us by the Evangel, I profess openly. Except it be the Word of God I dare affirm nothing." The fourth ran thus, "Thou, false heretic, hast openly taught that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament, and thou sayest that we should only confess us to God, and to no priest." He answered, "My lords, I say that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the Evangel, cannot therefore be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David saith, 'I thought that I would acknowledge my iniquity unto the Lord, and He forgave the trespasses of my sins.' Here confession signifieth the secret acknowledgment of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And farther St. James saith, 'Confess your sins one to another.' Here the apostle meaneth nothing of auricular confession, but that we should acknowledge and confess ourselves to be sinners before our brethren and before the world, and not to esteem

ourselves as the Grey Friars do, thinking themselves already purged." When he had said these words, the horned bishops and their accomplices cried out, and grinned with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speech, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion." When accused of having preached plainly that there is no purgatory, his reply was equally explicit and characteristic. "My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of Scripture I dare affirm nothing; I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto; therefore, I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in Scripture." Then said he to Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the Scripture by the which ye may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But Lauder was dumb. At last the bishops grew impatient of his "witty and godly answers." John Scot, a Grey Friar and a notorious deceiver of the people, who was standing behind Lauder, "hasted him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his answers." "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross."

The whole demeanour of Wishart throughout these proceedings was worthy of the man whom Tylney describes as "a man modest, courteous, lowly, lovely, and well spoken after his country of Scotland." He had as much the advantage of his accuser and judges in good breeding, as in the goodness of his cause, "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but, contrariwise, blessing—if God, peradventure, would give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth." But his answers and his bearing could do nothing to prevent an issue which was foregone and inevitable. He was in the power of men who both hated and feared him, and he must be destroyed to gratify their hatred and relieve their fear. The tribunal was unanimous in condemning him to die the death of a heretic in the flames.

His prayer on hearing the sentence pronounced was affect-

ing and sublime. "O, immortal God! how long shalt thou suffer the madness and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy Word in this world? O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction, and trouble in this present life which is but a shadow, as thou hast showed to us by thy prophets and apostles; but yet we desire thee, merciful Father, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy Word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

The execution was appointed to take place on the following day, and the Reformer was led back to the castle to await his doom. His calmness and self-possession never forsook him. The prayers, which he had often put up that his heart might not shrink when the battle waxed hot, were answered. The battle was now at the hottest, and his heart was fixed, trusting in the Lord.

Early next morning he had an interview with John Wynram, who came to the Castle at his desire. The spectacle of so much worth and wisdom, doomed in a few hours to suffer such extremity of anguish, overcame the feelings of the good Sub-prior, who was melted into tears. At last recovering himself, and "as soon as he was able to speak," he asked him, "If he would receive the communion?" "Yea, gladly," said he, "if I might have it as Christ instituted it." "Then the Sub-prior returned to the bishops," continues Lindsay of Pitscottie, "and showed them that he had conferred with Mr. George, and asked if they would consent that he should have the sacrament. The bishops, after consultation, concluded that, since he was condemned as a heretic, he should have no benefit of the Kirk. With this answer the Sub-prior returned to Mr. George, and having promised to pray each one for the other, they parted with shedding of tears." A little after, the Captain of the Castle, with some other friends, came to Wishart and asked if he would eat with them. He answered, "With a

good will, and more gladly than ever heretofore, because I perceive ye are good men and godly, and that this shall be my last meal on earth. But I exhort you that you would give me audience with silence for a little time, while I bless this meat, which we shall eat as brethren in Christ, and thereafter I will take my leave of you." So the table being covered, and bread set thereon, Mr. George discoursed half an hour of Christ's last supper, death, and passion, exhorting them to leave malice and envy, and to fix love and charity in their hearts, one towards another, as the members of Christ. Thereafter he blessed the bread and drink, and ate and drank himself, and desired the rest to do so, for they should drink no more with him, for he was to taste a bitter cup; "But," said he, "pray ye for me, and I for you, that our meeting may be in the joys of heaven with our Father, since there is nothing in earth but anxiety and sorrow." Having thus said, he gave thanks to God, and retired to his devotion."

Immediately after, his room was entered by two executioners; one brought him a coat of linen dyed black, and put it upon him; the other carried some bags full of powder, which he tied to several parts of his body. Thus arrayed for the fire, they brought him forth to an outer room, near the gate of the castle. Meanwhile, the artillery of the block houses was charged and pointed in the direction of the scaffold, and cushions and green-cloths were spread upon the wall-heads, for the cardinal and bishops to sit upon. "When all things were made ready," says Spottiswoode, "he was led forth, with his hands tied behind his back, and a number of soldiers guarding him, to the place of execution. As he was going forth at the castle-gate, some poor creatures who were lying there, did ask of him some alms for God's sake, to whom he said, 'I have not the use of any hands wherewith I should give you alms, but our merciful God, who out of his abundance feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you the things which are necessary both for your bodies and for your souls.'"

When he ascended the scaffold, he fell upon his knees, and

thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me. Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." Then he turned to the people and said these words, "I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see prepared for me, but I exhort you that ye love the word of God your salvation, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the Word's sake. Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters which have heard me oft before, that they cease not to learn the word of God, which I taught unto them, for no persecutions nor troubles in this world which lasteth not. For the Word's sake, and the true Evangel which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. Consider and behold my visage; ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. I know surely that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night, for whom I suffer this." Then he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech the Father of heaven to forgive them that have, of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, forged lies upon me. I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have this day ignorantly condemned me to death." And last of all he said to the people on this manner, "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."[1]

[1] We agree with those writers who think that the story of Wishart's prediction of the cardinal's speedy and ignominious end is apocryphal. Knox says nothing of it, and he is the principal authority in everything relating to Wishart, and would have been all the more sure to record the prediction if it had been authentic, that he believed in Wishart's prophetic spirit. Sir David Lindsay is equally silent in his "Tragedy of the Cardinal," and so also is Foxe in the Book of Martyrs. Besides, it is easy to see how

After these words, the martyr gave himself into the hands of the executioner. "Sir, I pray you forgive me," cried the tormentor, "for I am not guilty of your death;" to whom he answered, kissing his cheek, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office." He carried a chain of iron at his middle, by which he was fastened to a gibbet which rose in the centre of the scaffold. Fire was then put to the pile; the powder-bags exploded, and enveloped him in fierce flames; a cord, which had been placed round his neck, was pulled tightly till he was suffocated, and the body of the lifeless martyr was speedily reduced to ashes. "When the people beheld his great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of the innocent lamb's slaughter." The cardinal and the bishops, unforgiving even in death, caused a proclamation the same night to be made throughout the city, that none should pray for the soul of the heretic, under pain of the heaviest censures of the church.

Thus mournfully ended the life and ministry of George Wishart, one of the truest evangelists and holiest confessors of Christ that the Church of Scotland ever produced. But his influence long survived his death. His characteristic teaching was reproduced in the confession of Adam Wallace, the martyr of 1550, and in the theology of Sir David Lindsay's "Monarchies," published in 1554. Wishart lived again in John Knox. Elijah's mantle fell upon the shoulders of Elisha. The zealous disciple who had counted it an honour to be allowed to carry a sword before his master, stood forth immediately to wield the spiritual sword which had fallen from the master's grasp, and to wield it with a vigour and tren-

some of the words which Wishart made use of, might be readily developed into such an alleged prophecy. What was said of all the bishops, would easily come to be individualized and applied to their chief; and a general hypothetical warning of coming wrath, in the event of continued impenitence, would naturally be magnified into an unconditional prediction, when men recalled the language long after the event.

chant execution superior even to his. In truth, the effects of Wishart's teaching, as conveyed onward through Knox, survive at the present day. It was Wishart, as already noticed, who first moulded the Reformed Theology of Scotland upon the Helvetic, as distinguished from the Saxon type; and it was he who first taught the Church of Scotland to reduce her ordinances and sacraments with rigorous fidelity to the standard of Christ's institutions. Wishart, in fact, died a martyr to the true doctrine of the Sacraments. When we compare his Articles with those of Patrick Hamilton, we become aware of the interesting fact that, while Hamilton gave up his life for those truths which were revived in the teaching of Luther and Melancthon, and which they held in common with all the Continental and British Reformers, Wishart gave up his, not only for those truths, but also for those principles which gave a distinctive character to the Reform which Zwingle began in Zurich and Calvin perfected in Geneva.

Castle of St. Andrews.

Section 7. Assassination of Beaton, and siege of the Castle of St. Andrews. 1546—47.

In less than three months after the death of Wishart, that cruel tragedy was as cruelly avenged in the death of its chief perpetrator. On the 29th of May, 1546, while the applause of the priests and friars was still ringing in the ears of the cardinal, and saluting him as the saviour of the Church; and while he was proudly congratulating himself on the success of

all his measures, and his now complete and unopposed ascendancy both in Church and State, he was suddenly surprised in his own strong castle and palace, and cut off by a fate as tragical and ignominious in all its circumstances, as any that has ever been recorded in the long catalogue of human crimes and calamities.

The details of this assassination are so familiar to all the readers of Scottish history, that it is quite unnecessary here to repeat them; while to offer any defence, or even any extenuation of so criminal an act, would be itself a crime. In so far as the Reformation was really responsible for the doings of the conspirators, its honour must be confessed to have contracted a deep stain from their deed of violence and blood. But though the atrocity cannot be defended or even palliated, it admits of being explained. Its chief actors held the principle, that when it had become hopeless to expect deliverance from public oppressors by the arm of public justice, it was lawful for private individuals to remove them as the enemies of mankind. They made a distinction between the removal, by such means, of private and public enemies—a principle of social morality, which was undoubtedly as vicious in its own nature, as it was dangerous in its consequences; but which carried with it an appearance of wild justice, that recommended it to a fierce and impatient age; and which was not without its use as a terror to evil-doers, in times when law was often too weak to reach the greatest criminals, and when the worst transgressors of law were often the very men whose duty it was to defend and administer it. The truth is, the cardinal had acted upon such a principle himself. There had been times when he despaired of being able to stop the career of George Wishart by the impediments of public law and authority; so powerful was the protection which that reformer had found behind the shields of the protestant nobles and their retainers; and at such times he had not disdained to hire the dagger of the private assassin, or to lay the ambush of armed ruffians. The end, he thought,

justified the means. Wishart, in his view, was a public enemy and nuisance, and everything was lawful against such a foe. No marvel then, that his own example should have provoked an act of imitation which was fatal to himself; and that this should have been the way in which the angry justice both of God and man should have at last overtaken him, and exacted from him, in the very zenith of his power, a fresh fulfilment of the ancient and unrepealed doom, "that whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

The benefit which accrued to the Reformation from the removal of so powerful an adversary as the cardinal, was much more than counterbalanced by the long train of evils which resulted from the event. Beaton's successor in the primacy, John Hamilton, though much his inferior in talent and energy, was almost his equal in profligacy of manners, and in persecuting zeal and cruelty, so that little was gained by the change in this respect; while the exasperation of feeling called forth by a deed so daring and criminal, gave rise to proceedings against the conspirators, which being extended indiscriminately to all their abettors, real or supposed, had the effect of retarding the progress of the Reformation for many years; and of weighing it down with a load of opprobrium, from the effects of which it could only slowly recover.

The moment the success of Norman Leslie and the other conspirators became known, and that they meant to keep possession of the stronghold which they had so unexpectedly seized, they were joined in the Castle of St. Andrews by as many as one hundred and forty persons, including many members of the reforming families of Kirkaldy of Grange, Melville of Raith, Leslie of Rothes, and Balfour of Montquhany, and many other gentlemen of the same party in Fife and the neighbouring counties. In the circumstances of suspicion in which the conspiracy had placed many of these men, owing to their close connexion with the conspirators, it was natural enough that they should have taken this step. Behind the strong defences of the castle they hoped to be

safe from the new outburst of trouble and persecution, which they knew must soon follow. Still the step was a false one, and drew after it great disasters. It identified them in public opinion with the crime which was now to be avenged; they were naturally regarded as the friends and abettors of the conspirators, to whom they thus joined themselves. The Reformation, to which they were all known to be attached, was held responsible for a deed which its disciples thus publicly countenanced; and they all became involved in the calamities which resulted from the siege, to which the castle was ere long subjected.

As early as the 10th of June, a summons of treason passed under the great seal, citing not only the original conspirators, but many of those who had afterwards entered the castle, to appear before the Parliament in Edinburgh, on the 30th of July. The summons being disregarded, all who were named in it were declared guilty of treason; their lands and goods were forfeited to the crown; they were solemnly cursed and excommunicated by the church; and before the end of August, the Regent marched with an army to St. Andrews, and laid siege to the castle.

The siege was long and tedious. The strength of the place was great, and the art of sieging was then little understood in Scotland. The Regent, for a time, had only two great cannons with him, "Crook-Mow and Deaf-Meg;" but these ill-favoured ordnance could effect nothing against the guns of the new-built block-houses of the castle; and though the artillery of the besiegers was afterwards much reinforced, it never occurred to their inexperienced gunners to avail themselves either of the college steeple hard by, or the high walls of the abbey church, as posts of vantage for their batteries. The besieged were thus able for several months to maintain an equal conflict with their enemies. Arran being without war-ships, the sea was open to them, and they succeeded in communicating with the English court, which sent them timely supplies of provisions and munition.

The Regent at last despaired of being able to reduce the place, till he could invest it by sea as well as land; and concealing his intention of applying for aid to France, he entered in the meantime into "an appointment," the terms of which were much more to the advantage of the besieged than of his own dignity. By these stipulations, the Castle of St. Andrews was still to remain in their hands, on condition that they should hold it for the Regent, and not deliver it to the English; and it was provided that they should not be called upon to surrender it into his keeping, until he had obtained absolution from Rome for the offence of the conspirators in the slaughter of the cardinal; and had granted them and all their friends and servants full remission of the pains and penalties which they had incurred thereby. The siege was suspended in the end of January, 1547; Arran withdrew his soldiers to the south of Forth; and the besieged were at liberty to come out from the castle at their pleasure, and to resume intercourse with their friends in the city and neighbourhood.

This state of things continued till the month of June following, and allowed opportunity for several proceedings of a religious kind to take place at St. Andrews, which were of much interest in themselves, and proved of great importance in their issues to the cause of the Reformation.

At Easter, which fell that year on the 10th of April, the castle gates were opened to receive John Knox. He was accompanied by three young gentlemen, his pupils—Francis and George Douglas of Longniddry, and Alexander Cockburn of Ormiston; and he had repaired to the castle as a place of safety from the persecutions of the new archbishop. On the 19th of March, that prelate had presented to the Regent and his council a supplication in the name of the bishops and other churchmen, "for help and remeid against the sacramentaries, and those infected with the pestilential heresy of Luther;" stating, as the special occasion of this request, "that persons who had formerly been banished for heresy, were now coming openly and without any fear, not only

into the remote parts of the realm, but even into the court and presence of their lordships; and were preaching publicly and instructing others in their damnable heresies." The death of the cardinal would appear to have given new boldness to the friends of truth; and this again to have stirred up the clergy to renewed severities. In such circumstances, it was natural that Knox, who had associated himself so openly with Wishart, should be one of the first to be pursued; and he had for some time been removing from place to place, in order to elude the vigilance of his enemies. But at length, growing weary of such a life, he had resolved to leave the kingdom, and to go on a visit to the universities of Germany, when his friends, the Lairds of Ormiston and Longniddry, earnestly pressed him to betake himself with their sons to St. Andrews; in order that "he might have the benefit of the castle, and their children might continue to have the benefit of his doctrine."

He was now in the prime of manhood—upwards of forty years of age; and his remarkable manner of teaching the principles of religion to his young charge, soon drew upon him the eyes of all the more godly portion of the inhabitants both of the castle and the city. He tells us that, "he began to exercise his pupils after his accustomed manner. Besides their grammar and other human authors, he read unto them a catechism, an account whereof he caused them to give publicly in the parish church of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the Evangel of John; and that lecture he read in the chapel within the castle at a certain hour."

There were among his auditors, on these occasions, several men who were able to appreciate perfectly the purity and the power of his teaching. One of these was John Rough, who had taken refuge in the castle soon after the slaughter of the cardinal, and had all along acted as chaplain to the besieged; another was Henry Balnaves, an eminent lawyer, and one of the judges of the kingdom, who had early embraced the Reformation, and was one of its most distinguished orna-

ments; and a third was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the Lion-king, whose frequent presence in the castle at that time, while quite consistent with the duty of his office—inasmuch as the fortress was then held in the governor's name and behalf, is a remarkable proof of the interest which he continued to take in the cause of the Reformation, even in this the lowest ebb of its fortunes. These men saw at a glance the high powers of the tutor of Longniddry as a religious teacher; and they perceived how much would be gained to the cause of truth by converting the modest tutor into a public preacher of the word. What followed can best be told in the words of Knox himself:—"They of the place, but especially Maister Henry Balnaves, and John Rough, preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the preaching place upon him; but he utterly refused, alleging 'that he would not run where God had not called him,' meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Whereupon, they privily among themselves advising, having with them in counsel Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a charge to the said John, and that publicly, by the mouth of their preacher; and so, upon a certain day, a sermon being had of the election of ministers, what power the congregation (how small that ever it was, passing the number of two or three) had above any man, in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed; these and other heads (we say) declared, John Rough, preacher, directed his words to John Knox, saying, 'Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this, in the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's Kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand

well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you.' And in the end, he said to those that were present, 'Was not this your charge to me? and do ye not approve this vocation?' they answered, 'It was, and we approve it;' whereat the said John, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart, for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together."

The intrepid boldness with which Knox soon after began to exercise his ministry formed a singular contrast to the unaffected modesty and reluctance with which he had consented to undertake it. His first public sermon was in a high degree characteristic, both of his principles and his temper as a Reformer. It struck the key-note in truth of his whole subsequent preaching, and however much he may have afterwards learned in point of theological erudition from his intercourse with the English and Continental Reformers, it is plain that all the main principles of his teaching were already fixed, and that in point of clearness of perception, strength of conviction, and unsparing vigour of application of the truth both for instruction and reproof, he was already all that his later ministrations evinced him to be.

His first sermon arose out of a controversy which he had begun to wage with Dean John Annan, of St. Andrews. He had already "beaten the Dean," as he tells us, "from all his defences, and compelled him to fly to his last refuge, that is, the authority of the Church." "This authority," exclaimed Annan one day from the pulpit of the parish church, "damns all Lutherans and heretics, and therefore I need no farther disputation." But Knox, who was in the audience, replied aloud,

"Before we hold ourselves, or you can prove us sufficiently convicted of heresy by the authority of the Church, we must define the Church by the right notes given to us in God's Scripture of the true Church; for as for your Roman Kirk, as it is now corrupted, and the authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the Head thereof, called the Pope, to be that Man of Sin of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible Kirk of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself by word or write to prove the Roman Church to be, this day, further degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than was the Church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." The people hearing the offer, cried out with one consent, "We cannot all read your writings, but we may all hear your preaching, therefore we require you, in the name of God, that ye will let us hear the probation of that which ye have affirmed; for if it be true we have been miserably deceived." And so the next Sunday was appointed to express his mind in the public preaching place.

We cannot find space for even an outline of this remarkable sermon. We can only tell that the drift of it was to prove that the Papacy is the great Antichrist, being contrary to Christ both in life, doctrine, laws, and subjects; that the intrepid preacher alleged in proof of his theme, manifold arguments from Scripture, from the Fathers, and from history; and that he wound up with the challenge, that, "if any here (and there were present, the university, John Major, the sub-prior, and many canons, with some friars of both the orders) will say that I have alleged Scripture, doctor, or history, otherwise than it is written, let them come unto me with sufficient witness, and by conference I shall let them see not only the original, where my testimonies are written, but I shall prove that the writers meant as I have spoken."

Of this his first sermon, he tells us "there were divers

bruits. Some said, "Others sned (*i.e.* lopped) the branches of the papistry, but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole." Others said, "Maister George Wishart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt; even so will he be in the end." Others said, "The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse; and therefore we would counsel you to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that else ye will be disappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then." These remarks passing from mouth to mouth, indicated that a great step in advance had now been taken by the Scottish Reformation. In the person and ministry of Knox it had entered upon a new stage. Hamilton, Wishart, and others had condemned particular doctrines and rites of the Church of Rome, but now a great preacher stood forth to deny the authority of the Church of Rome itself. If that authority should fall, all the Church's powers and prerogatives, doctrines and institutes, must fall with it in one mighty overthrow. If the Church of the Popes was Antichrist, how could it be any true part of the body of Christ? and how could it have any claim whatever to the submission, or even to the deference, of the Christian world?

No wonder the archbishop-elect was astonished and scandalized to hear that such teaching was permitted and listened to in the parish church of his metropolitical city; and that he wrote instantly to John Wynram the sub-prior, who was acting as Vicar-General of the province, "that he marvelled that he should suffer such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught, and not to oppose himself to the same." Wynram was obliged to do something to save appearances; but the course he took was highly characteristic. He summoned Knox and Rough to appear before a convention of theologians, in St. Leonard's college, to answer to certain articles gathered out of their sermons; but he soon put them at their ease, by telling them, in effect, that he had invited them to a conference, without meaning to put them upon their trial.

"The strangeness of these articles," said he, after the list had been read over, "has moved us to call for you, to hear your own answers." "For my part," replied Knox, "I praise my God that I see so honourable and apparently so modest and quiet an auditure. But because it is long since I have heard that you are one who is not ignorant of the truth, I must crave of you, in the name of God, yea, and I appeal your conscience before that supreme Judge, that if ye think any article there expressed contrarious unto the truth of God, ye would oppose yourself plainly to it and suffer not the people to be therewith deceived. But and if in your conscience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I crave your patronage thereto; that by your authority the people may be moved the rather to believe the truth, whereof many doubt, by reason of our youth." To which the sub-prior answered, "I came not here as a judge, but only familiarly to talk; and therefore I will neither allow nor condemn; but if ye list, I will reason:" And then followed a friendly disputation between him and Knox, upon the question moved by the sub-prior, Why may not the kirk, for good causes, devise ceremonies to decore the Sacraments and other parts of God's service?

The argument was a short one; for Wynram was only half in earnest, and was more disposed to jest than to reason. "Forgive me," said he to Knox, who had used the liberty of saying that he would they should not jest in so grave a matter; "forgive me; and now, father," turning to Gray-friar Arbuckle, who stood by eager to enter the lists, "follow the argument. Ye have heard what I have said, and what is answered to me again;" and then ensued a somewhat lengthened encounter between the Reformer and the too confident friar. Arbuckle began boldly thus: "I shall prove plainly that ceremonies are ordained by God; I will even prove these that ye damn to be ordained of God." "The proof hereof," said the Reformer quietly, "I would gladly hear." The friar's proof, of course, was quite beside the mark, ludicrously so indeed; and only gave advantage against himself to his powerful antagonist.

Arbuckle then left the high ground of divine appointment which he had first taken up, and began to allege "that we ought not to be so straitly bound to the word," as Knox contended. But, "while he wandered about in the mist, he fell into a foul mire, for he affirmed, 'That the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost, when they did write their epistles; but afterwards they received Him, and then they did ordain the ceremonies.'" "Few would have thought," says Knox, "that so learned a man would have given so foolish an answer; and yet it is even as true as that he bare a gray cowl." The sub-prior was as much scandalized at the Father's blunder, as Knox. "Father," cried he, "What say ye? God forbid that ye affirm that; for then, fareweel the ground of our faith." "The friar, astonied, made the best shift that he could to correct his fall, but it would not be. John Knox brought him oft again to the ground of the argument, but he would never answer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the kirk. Whereto the said John answered oftener than once, "That the spouse of Christ had neither power nor authority against the word of God." Then said the friar, "ye will leave us no kirk."

The Inquisition demanded by the primate, ended, by Wynram's astute management, in smoke instead of fire; and the Reformers were both left at liberty to reiterate their articles in the pulpit as oft as they pleased. The only limitation put upon them was, that they were kept out of the pulpit of the parish church on Sundays by the appointment of others to preach, whose sermons were "penned to offend no man;" but they might preach on other days—a liberty which Knox turned to the utmost account; and not without fruit, for "God," he records, "so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed the truth by participation in the Lord's Table," which was then, for the first time in Scotland, administered in its primitive purity and simplicity.

These interesting proceedings took place in the months of May and June; and if the Reformer had been allowed to go on he would no doubt have reaped still greater successes as the first-fruits of his ministry; but his labours were suddenly interrupted by the renewal of the siege. "On the fourth day of June appeared in the sight of the castle of St. Andrews, twenty-one French galleys, with a force of an army the like whereof was never seen in that frith before." The next day the French commander summoned the castle to surrender, but its defenders refused, on the plea that Frenchmen had no authority in Scottish waters. The Regent, on hearing of the arrival of the Frenchmen whom he had so treacherously brought to his aid, hurried from the western borders to St. Andrews, to co-operate with the besiegers. The trenches were opened on the 24th of July. The steeple of St. Salvator's College, and the towers and walls of the Abbey were converted into batteries by the French gunners, who smiled at the simplicity of the garrison in having allowed these commanding eminences to fall into their hands. So long as the attack was made only from the sea the defence was hopefully maintained; but the besieged were soon brought to terms when the gunners were able to open upon them their land batteries. In a few hours, as Knox had warned his friends when they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, the defences crumbled like egg-shells before that formidable foreign artillery; and William Kirkaldy went forth with a flag of truce to capitulate with the French commander. The conditions obtained were, that the lives of all within the castle should be spared; that they should be safely transported to France; and "in case they could not be content to remain in service and freedom there upon such conditions as should be offered them by the French king, they should be safely conveyed, at his charge, to any other country, except Scotland, which they would require." Prisoned and bound in the French galleys, they were all doomed to go forth into perpetual exile; many of them with the

sentence of forfeiture and outlawry upon their heads; excommunicated by the church, and deprived of all their lands and goods by the state.

In a few days thereafter, the last galley had disappeared below the horizon, that bore away to France the mixed company of good and bad men who had been so long associated together within the walls of the castle of St. Andrews. It was one of the worst results of the conspiracy against Beaton, that it ended in driving into protracted exile men like Henry Balnaves, and John Rough, and John Knox; and in leaving the kingdom for years destitute of teachers to carry on the work which had been so prosperously begun. So different, so opposite, are the results of doing God's work in God's own appointed way, and of doing it in a way of man's own impatient and rash invention! By faithful labour and patient martyr-like endurance, the Reformation prospered and triumphed in the hands of Hamilton and Wishart and other worthies; but in the hands of the Kirkaldies, and the Leslies, and the Melvilles, the cause had been covered with a cloud of public opprobrium; and but for the providential appearance of Knox at that critical moment, would have been brought into danger of a hopeless overthrow. Indeed, as Knox himself, its new champion, was involved along with the rest in the final disaster, it was natural that the churchmen should have triumphed, as he tells us they did, in the complete ruin of the Lutherans and Sacramentaries. "In Scotland that summer, was nothing but mirth, for all went with the priests even at their own pleasure. The joy of the papists both of Scotland and France was in full perfection, and this was their song of triumph:—

> 'Priests content ye now, priests content ye now,
> For Normand and his company have filled the galleys fou'.

And so judged the ungodly that after that in Scotland should Christ Jesus never have triumphed."

Steeple Church, Dundee.

Section 8. English Invasion. Renewal of Persecution. The Reformation-Poets. 1547—1554.

The condition of Scotland from 1547 to 1550 was deplorable. Henry VIII., who died in the beginning of 1547, had bequeathed his quarrel with Scotland to his son and successor, Edward VI.; and the young king's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, now created Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England, invaded the kingdom in September of the same year with a

powerful army and fleet. The battle of Pinkie which followed, and which was one of the greatest disasters that ever befell the Scottish arms, was only the beginning of a long series of troubles. English garrisons long held possession of Haddington, Inchkeith, Broughty, and Home Castle, and pillaged and wasted the adjoining districts. Again and again the flames of war were rekindled upon the borders. The French were called in to assist in driving out the English invaders, but they showed much more zeal to secure the consent of the nation to the marriage of the young queen with the dauphin, than to pursue the war with earnestness and vigour; and the citizens of Edinburgh—who saw their provost, Sir James Hamilton, of Stenhouse, and other inhabitants, stretched lifeless upon the High Street by the swords of the disorderly French bands who were quartered in the Canongate—had as much reason to dread and resent the insolent violence of their "auld allies" of France, as the attacks of their "auld enemies of England."

The only topic of consolation in the history of these long troubles and confusions, was the immunity which they brought to the disciples of the Reformation from the persecutions of the clergy, and the deepened interest and significance which they imparted to the lessons of that blessed word, in which growing numbers of the people sought their only solace amidst the public disasters. The success of the Churchmen in avenging the death of Beaton contented for a season their anti-Lutheran zeal; and at a time when the Earl of Angus's heretical "bands" were as necessary to carry on the war with England as the more orthodox "followings" of Huntley and Argyle, it would have been bad policy to rekindle the flames of ecclesiastical strife.

No sooner, however, was peace concluded in 1550 between Scotland, England, and France, than the old battle between light and darkness was renewed. John Hamilton had now been fully installed in the primacy of St. Andrews, and having long possessed a complete ascendancy over his brother, the

Regent, stood prepared to take vigorous measures against the enemies of the Church. He saw with particular anxiety the state of the archiepiscopal province of Glasgow. That see had been vacant since the death of Gavin Dunbar in 1547, and heresy, which had rapidly gained ground in the archbishop's lifetime, had greatly increased during this prolonged vacancy. According to Hamilton's own showing, in an Information presented by him to the court of Rome, "a great part of the diocese was infected with heresy, and the greatest scandals were committed against the Catholic faith; such as the burning of the images of God and the saints, the contempt of prelates, the beating of priests and monks, and the eating of forbidden meats;" and in the same document, the primate takes credit to himself for the zeal and vigour with which he had proceeded against two heretics of the diocese, "an apostate heresiarch of the name of McBrair, and another of the same character called Wallace."

John McBrair was a gentleman of Galloway, and had been educated in St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, where he took his degree in 1531. Having entered the Augustinian monastery of Glenluce, he had become a canon of that house; and after embracing the Reformation, he had carried on as a popular preacher in "the westland" the mission which had been so successfully prosecuted there by Willock, Rough and Wishart. At the time when the primate proceeded to the west to put a stop to his labours, he was living under the protection of Lord Ochiltree, in the castle of Ochiltree, and had many patrons and followers in the country around. The archbishop did not trust to the terror of ecclesiastical citations and censures; he went to Ochiltree with a band of armed men, and overpowering the preacher's defenders, took him prisoner, along with several of his followers, and lodged him in the dungeons of the castle of Hamilton. This was in the spring of 1550. But before the month of May was out, McBrair was again at liberty. John Lockhart of Barr, the same "stout gentleman" who had been Wishart's patron, stood true also to

McBrair in the crisis of his fate. To attempt the forcible release of a prisoner from the Regent's own castle was a crime inferring the penalties of treason. But Lockhart took counsel with his courage rather than with his fears, and having come silently by night with a few attendants as resolute as himself, to the Regent's stronghold, he succeeded in delivering the reformer, and carrying him in safety to the Barr, from which McBrair had no difficulty in effecting his escape across the English border.

The primate's other victim, Adam Wallace, was less fortunate. He was a native of Ayrshire, and is described by Knox as "a simple man, without great learning, but one that was zealous in godliness and of an upright life." He had not much Latin, but he carried a Bible at his belt in three languages, French, German, and English. "With his wife he frequented the company of the Lady Ormiston for instruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who was then banished;" and at the time when he was seized, he was on a visit to the noble family of Winton, in East Lothian. It was no doubt the access which he enjoyed to the houses of the reforming nobility, and the influence which he was exerting in diffusing the principles of the Reformation among the upper classes, which made him an object of jealousy to the clergy. He was carried prisoner to Edinburgh, and his trial took place in the great Church of the Blackfriars in September, 1550. From his answers to the articles laid against him, it appears that he was no preacher; "He had never judged himself worthy of so excellent a vocation, and therefore never took upon him to preach; but he would not deny but that sometimes at table, and sometimes in other privy places, he would read the Scriptures, and had given such exhortations as God pleased to give to him, to such as pleased to hear him." He owned the truth of the accusation that he had said and openly taught, "that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God!" "He had taught nothing," he added, "but what was agreeable to the holy word

as he understood it. God and his own conscience were judges, and by that doctrine he would abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death." "Then all cried out, Heresy! heresy! and so was the simple servant of God adjudged to the fire." On the following day, the sentence was executed with every circumstance of cruelty on the castle-hill.

The kingdom was now stripped bare of all its reforming teachers. However many heretics there might still be lurking among all classes of the nation, the primate was able to look round and congratulate himself and his brother bishops that at least all the heresiarchs were either burnt or driven into exile. Nor only the preachers, but also many of their most active and powerful abettors. The cause of the Reformation seemed now at its lowest ebb. Its adversaries appeared to have recovered all their former power. Who was now to stand forward and lift up again its fallen banner?

It is an interesting fact, that for the next four years, from 1550 to 1554,—the remainder of the Wishart period,—the interests of the Reformation and the religious instruction of the people were almost exclusively in the hands of the poets and the printers. It was at this time that the following act of the Scottish Parliament against the press was obtained by the influence of the clergy: "Forasmuch as there are divers printers in this realm that daily and continually print books concerning the faith—ballads, songs, blasphemations, rhymes—as well of churchmen as temporal men, tragedies as well in Latin as in English tongue, not seen and considered by the superiors, as appertains, to the defamation of the lieges, the Parliament therefore prohibits the printing of all such things either in Latin or English, without licence, under pain of confiscation of the printer's goods, and banishment from the realm."

Among the "ballads, songs, and rhymes" here referred to, were included many of those which form the curious and highly interesting collection called, "Ane compendious Book

of Godly and Spiritual Songs, collected out of sundry parts of the Scripture; with sundry other Ballats changed out of prophane Sangs, for avoiding of sin and harlotry." These went by the name of Wedderburn's Psalms and Songs; the author being John Wedderburn, of Dundee, who was educated at St. Andrews under Gavin Logie, and is said to have afterwards studied under Luther and Melancthon. He became a zealous Reformer, and translated many of Luther's hymns, and of the Psalms of David, into Scottish metre. These were already in circulation in Wishart's time, for we find him singing one of Wedderburn's Psalms at Ormiston, on the night of his apprehension. Many of the tunes to which the poet adapted his pieces were national favourites, and had long been associated in the minds of the people with rude and indecent verse; and it was then deemed a great service to the cause of truth, not only in Scotland, but also in Germany, France, and England—whatever would be thought of such a measure in our own day—not only to enlist these popular airs on the side of religion, but even to imitate closely, in the new psalms and hymns, the structure and rhythm of the old licentious ballads, which had descended to that age from times still ruder and coarser than itself. Some of Wedderburn's pieces are sufficiently free in this respect, and others of them have no great poetical merit; but many of them are marked by extraordinary power of satire; and many more, by fulness of evangelical doctrine and fervour of religious feeling. Carried to all parts of the country by travelling chapmen, their influence, as they passed from mouth to mouth, could not fail to be very great, and very beneficial to the cause of Reform.

Among the tragedies proscribed by the Act of Parliament, was doubtless, "The Tragedie of the Cardinal," by Sir David Lindsay. By that name were then understood not tragic dramas, but rhyming histories of public and private calamities, especially those of fallen greatness. Boccacio had set the example of such compositions in his "Fall of Princes;" and

his tragedies, "done into English" by John Lydgate, were then in the hands of all lovers of poetry and history. Lindsay was a great admirer of "John Boccace;" and soon after the fall of Beaton—a tragedy equal in astonishment and horror to any that had ever occurred in history—he produced a piece upon the same model, with the design of reading a new lesson to prelates and princes, suggested by the cardinal's proud career, and miserable end.

The prologue begins thus :—

"Nocht long ago, efter the hour of prime,
Secretly sitting in mine oratory;
I took ane book to occupy the time,
Where I found many tragedie and story,
Whilk John Boccace had put in memory,
How many princes, conquerors and kings,
War dolefully deposit from their rings.

"I sitting so, upon my book reading,
Right suddenly afore me did appear
Ane woundit man abundantly bleeding,
With visage pale, and with ane deadly cheer,
Seeming ane man of twa and fifty year;
In raiment red, clothit full courteously
Of velvet and of satin crammosic."[1]

It was the cardinal himself! and he was come to say, that no doubt, John Boccace, if he had been alive, would have described "his tragedie;" but since he was gone, he looked to Lindsay to do that office :—

"I pray thee to indite
Of my infortune some rememberance;
Or at the least my tragedie to write,
As I to thee shall shew the circumstance,
Sen my beginning to my fatal end,
Whilk I would to all creature were kend."

The poet then begins to write to the cardinal's dictation :—

[1] Crimson.

"I, David Betoun, umquhyl[1] cardinal,
Of noble blood by line I did descend;
During my time I had no perigal,[2]
Ay gre by gre[3] upward I did ascend,
Swa that into this realm did never ring[4]
Sa great ane man as I, under ane king."

And so on, in stanzas of fluent ten-syllable verse, through the cardinal's whole life and career; forming a kind of epitome of the history of the country during the period of Beaton's ascendancy. The concluding stanza of the story runs thus:—

"I lay unburied seven months and more,
Or I was borne to closter, kirk, or queir,
In ane midding, whilk pain be to deplore,
Without suffrage of canon, monk or freir.
All proud prelates at me may lessons leir,
Whilk rang so lang, and so triumphantly,
Syne in the dust doung doun so dolefully."

Then follows an address to the "proud prelates," as if from the lips of the cardinal himself; in which his "brether princes of the priests," are compelled to hear from him very different language from what they had ever heard from his living lips. It is full of Lindsay's favourite grievances against the bishops, which, though meant of course quite seriously, have rather a droll effect when taken up and enforced by the dead cardinal. "Alas!" he cries,—

"If ye that sorrowful sight had seen
How I lay bullerand,[5] bathit in my blude,
To mend your life, it had occasion been,
And leave your auld corrupted consuetude;
Failing thereof, then shortly I conclude,
Without ye from your ribaldry arise,
Ye shall be servit on the samyn wise."

The cardinal's address "To the Princes," is equally plain-spoken, and turns upon the sin and folly of appointing to the cure of souls "blind pastors," without knowledge and conscience. He rebukes them sharply for taking more care to appoint,—

[1] Deceased. [2] Equal. [3] Step by step. [4] Reign. [5] Roaring.

"Ane brewster whilk can brew maist hailsum aill,
Ane cunning cook whilk best can season caill,
Ane tailor whilk has fostered been in France,
That can mak garments on the gayest gyse;"

than they bestowed in the nomination of bishops and abbots. Witness himself, for example, quoth the now candid and humble cardinal:—

"Howbeit I was legate and cardinal,
Little I knew therein what should be done;
I understood no science spiritual,
No more than did blind Allan of the mone."

"Wherefore," he concludes,—

"I counsel everilk Christian king,
Within his realm mak reformation,
And suffer no mo ribalds for to ring
Above Christ-is true congregation;
Failing thereof, I mak narration,
That ye princes and prelates all at anes,
Shall buried be in hell, soul, blude, and banes."

No wonder that the cardinal's successor and the rest of the prelates complained of the "Tragedies," and tried by Act of Parliament to gag Lindsay and the other poets. It was bad enough for Lindsay's friends to have slain the cardinal; but to turn him into a heretic and a preacher after he was dead was a grosser affront still. Why, Wishart and Knox themselves had never told them the truth with so little ceremony as Lindsay had made the cardinal do, in this provoking "blasphemation." "The Tragedie of the Cardinal" was a happy sally of satiric genius, and no doubt did great execution upon the credit of the churchmen throughout the kingdom.

In 1553 Lindsay finished and sent to the press of John Scot, of St. Andrews, a still more important work, his "Monarchie, or Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour, of the Miserable Estate of the Warld." It is the

most copious and elaborate of all his poems, and differs from almost all the rest in the thoroughly grave and solemn tone in which it is conceived. So much so, that at the outset, declining the help of the Muses of Parnassus and Helicon, he tells his reader that he looks only for inspiration to Mount Calvary—

> "Therefore, O Lord, I pray thy Majesty,
> As thou did shew thy heich pow-er divine
> First plainly in the Cane of Galilee,
> Whare thou convertit water into wine,
> Convoy my matter to ane fructuous fyne,[1]
> And save my sayings both from shame and sin."

Then begins the "Dialog," in which Lindsay, "the Courteour," and Experience run through, in the form of question and answer, and comment, the whole history of the world, both sacred and profane; recapitulating the story of the four ancient monarchies, and dwelling with special emphasis of remark upon the fifth monarchy, that is, "the spiritual and Papal." It is in handling this last topic of course that the theological and religious spirit of the poet shows itself most fully; and as this work was the latest and ripest fruit of his genius, we see here the matured and concentrated results of the observation, reading, and reflection of his whole life, upon the great question and controversy of his day. But we cannot stop to characterise the poet-reformer as he here reveals himself, farther than to say, that in accomplishments he is almost as good a theologian and Church historian as he is a poet, and that in fearless truth and energy of speech he is almost a match to John Knox himself. His denunciations of Roman corruption and superstition are of the most earnest and fervid description, and in reading them one can only marvel that such a scourge of the Popes and all their ministers and abettors should have been permitted to end his days in peace.

Lindsay did not long survive the publication of "The Monarchie," but he was still able in 1554 to take the manage-

[1] End.

ment of another grand performance of his "Satire of the Three Estates." It is almost incredible that such a spectacle should have been allowed to take place in the metropolis of the kingdom. But the fact is indubitable, and not only so, but the drama was produced at Greenside, under the slopes of the Calton hill, in presence of the magistrates of the city and of the Queen Dowager herself, who had now superseded Arran in the regency of the kingdom. But she had owed that political success very much to the support of the Protestant lords, and it might be partly with the view of gratifying them that she conceded to Lindsay such a dangerous privilege. The poet seems to have reproduced the piece in its fullest dimensions, for the performance lasted—as we are told by Henry Charters, the Edinburgh bookseller, who saw it—from nine o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the afternoon; and in this its unabridged form, with all its prologues, parts, and interludes, it formed an extraordinary reflex of the spirit and manners of the age. The coarseness of the dialogue in some places is so gross, that it would not now be tolerated on the boards of the lowest penny theatre. And yet the ideas of the piece, political, social, moral, ecclesiastical, and religious, are of the most enlightened kind. Its key-note is reform; reform everywhere, in church and state, in prince and people, in the maxims of trade, and in the habits of domestic life. Lindsay was a sound politician and enlightened patriot, as well as an evangelical theologian and zealous iconoclast.

It is singular that the date of the death of such a man should not have been exactly recorded. It probably, however, took place in 1557. He survived therefore to witness the commencement of the Knox period of the Reformation; and it must have been a great joy to him to see the man whom he had assisted to bring out of privacy into the public pulpit of St. Andrews, return to the kingdom after an absence of eight years, to resume the great work where his predecessors had left it. But Lindsay's name does not again occur as that of a living man in the history of the Reformation. His light

disappeared beneath the horizon just when the star of Knox rose again to view in the opposite quarter of the heavens; and well had he merited the eulogium of Henry Charters, one of his publishers :—

> "Never poet of our Scottish clan
> So clearly schew that monster with his marks,
> The Roman god, in whom all guile began,
> As does gude David Lyndsay in his warks."

Old Church and Glen at Dun-house.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

THE KNOX PERIOD. A.D. 1555—1560.

Section 1. *Visit of Knox to Scotland.* 1555, 1556.

With the year 1555 commences the Knox period of the Scottish Reformation—its last and crowning stage. The Wishart period had closed in extreme apparent weakness and discouragement. After thirty years of conflict and suffering

the reformers of Scotland were still without union as a party, and without organization as a power in the Church and the State. Their preachers were all in exile, and their leaders among the nobles reduced to silence and inaction. But with the reappearance of Knox upon the scene all this was speedily changed. His presence and power gave a new impulse to the cause, which immediately launched it upon a period of revival, of union, of organization, and of ultimate triumph.

Eight years had passed away since the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews, and to Knox they had been singularly full of incident and change. For twenty months he was kept a captive on board the French galleys, "lying in irons, miserably entreated, and sore troubled by corporal infirmity." Released at length in the spring of 1549, he gave the next five years of his life to the promotion of the Reformation in England, preaching for some time in Berwick, then in Newcastle, and afterwards, when he was made one of King Edward's six chaplains, in London, and various parts of the counties of Buckingham and Kent. He was consulted by Cranmer and the other reforming bishops in the preparation of King Edward's Second Liturgy, and of the Articles of Religion, and might even have been promoted to the see of Rochester, if he had not been less solicitous of high place for himself than of a thorough reformation of the discipline of the Church. But he complained that no minister in England had authority to execute needful discipline, "to separate the lepers from the whole," which he accounted "a chief point of his office;" and he repeatedly declined to fill any other post in the Church than that of a preacher. Soon after the death of Edward, he left England and repaired to Geneva; and there he remained, he tells us, "at his private study" till he was called by the congregation of English refugees at Frankfort to be their preacher, "which vocation he obeyed (albeit unwillingly) at the commandment of that notable servant of God, John Calvin. At Frankfort he remained till that some

of the learned," he continues, "more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with him; and because they despaired to prevail before the magistrate there for the establishing of their corruptions, they accused him of treason committed against the emperor and against their sovereign, Queen Mary, because in his 'Admonition to England' he had called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. The magistrates perceiving their malice, and fearing that he should fall into the hands of his accusers by one mean or by other, gave advertisement secretly to him to depart their city, for they could not save him if he were required by the Emperor, or by the Queen of England in the Emperor's name; and so the said John returned to Geneva, and from thence to Dieppe, and thereafter to Scotland."

The time when Knox arrived in Edinburgh—about the end of September, 1555—was peculiarly favourable to the success of his visit. The clergy had sunk into a state of false security, and were dreaming that heresy had been well-nigh extirpated from the land. The regency had recently passed into the hands of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, whose political schemes made it necessary for her to pursue a temporizing policy with the Protestant lords, and to disguise for a time the hatred which she cherished, in common with all her family, to the doctrines and aims of the reformers. Just at that time, too, a number of the leading Protestants, including John Erskine of Dun, and William Maitland of Lethington, had gathered into Edinburgh to confer with and enjoy the ministrations of John Willock, who had been sent by the Duchess of East Friesland to the Scottish court on a commercial mission. But Willock's "principal purpose was to assay what God would work by him in his native country;" and the private meetings for prayer and exposition of the word which he had already held in Edinburgh, suggested a similar plan of usefulness to Knox.

The first citizen of Edinburgh who received Knox into his

house, and afforded facilities for such secret assemblies, was James Syme. James Barron, another burgess, and his pious wife, Elizabeth Anderson; Janet Adamson, the wife of James McGill, of Rankeillor, clerk register; David Forres, Master of the Mint, and Maister Robert Lockhart, are all mentioned, in addition to Erskine and Maitland, as attendants at these edifying assemblies. It was necessary, in order to escape observation, that the meetings should be small; and this, with the ardent desire of many to receive spiritual instruction, kept the reformer closely engaged for weeks, both by day and by night. After he had been several weeks in Edinburgh, he wrote to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes, in Berwick, to say that "the fervent thirst of his brethren, night and day sobbing and groaning for the bread of life, was such, that if he had not seen it with his own eyes he could not have believed it. I praised God when I was with you, perceiving that in the midst of Sodom God had more Lots than one, and more faithful daughters than twa. But the fervency here doth far exceed all others that I have seen; and therefore ye shall patiently bear although I spend here yet some days, for depart I cannot, unto such time as God quench their thirst a little. Yea, mother, their fervency doth so ravish me, that I cannot but accuse and condemn my slothful coldness. God grant them their hearts' desire. In great haste, the 4th of November, 1555."

It was evidently a time of spiritual awakening like that which had occurred under the ministry of Wishart in Ayrshire and Dundee; and instead of being able to return to Berwick in a few days, Knox found it impossible to leave the country for many months. The news of his arrival and of the power of his ministry having spread among the reformers in all parts of the country, his presence was everywhere ardently desired, and he deemed it his duty "to pass through all quarters, strengthening the disciples." We have the advantage of the following sketch of his labours during this spring-time of religious life, from his own pen.

"John Knox, at the request of the Laird of Dun, followed

him to his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily exercised in doctrine, whereunto resorted the principal men of that country. After his returning, his residence was most in Calder, where repaired unto him the Lord Erskine, the Lord Lorn, and Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, where they heard, and so approved his doctrine, that they wished it to have been public. That same winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh; and after the Yule, by the conduct of the Laird of Barr, and Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, he came to Kyle, and taught in the Barr, in the house of the Carnell, in the Kinyeancleugh, in the town of Ayr, and in the houses of Ochiltree and Gadgirth, and in some of them ministered the Lord's table. Before the Pasch, the Earl of Glencairn sent for him to his place of Finlaston, where, after doctrine, he likewise ministered the Lord's table; whereof, besides himself, were partakers his lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends. And so returned he to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, convened as well for the doctrine as for the right use of the Lord's table, which before they had never practised. From thence he departed the second time to the Laird of Dun, and teaching then in greater liberty, the gentlemen required that he should minister likewise unto them the table of the Lord Jesus; whereof were partakers the most part of the gentlemen of the Mearns, who professed that they refused all society with idolatry, and bound themselves to the uttermost of their power to maintain the true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer to them preachers and opportunity."

It is surprising that Knox was allowed to continue these labours for so many months without interruption from the bishops. At last, however, while he was yet in Angus, he was summoned to appear before them on the 15th of May, in the Church of the Blackfriars, at Edinburgh. Encouraged by the support of so many powerful friends, he resolved to obey the summons, and set out for Edinburgh with the Laird of Dun and other gentlemen, to face his enemies. But it turned out that the

bishops were little disposed to face a heretic of so undaunted a spirit. They had not expected that he would be so bold as to obey the summons, and they shrank from the consequences of such an encounter. On the Saturday preceding the day appointed, "they cast their ain summons, and the said John, the same day of the summons, taught in Edinburgh in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town. The place was the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging, where he continued in doctrine ten days, both before and after noon." These were ten days of remarkable power and success in the exercise of his ministry. Writing to Mrs. Bowes, after he had been three days thus employed, he exclaimed, in a fervour of pious enthusiasm, "O! sweet were the death that should follow sic forty days in Edinburgh as here I have had three. Rejoice, mother, the time of our deliverance approacheth; for as Satan rageth, so does the grace of the Holy Spirit abound, and daily giveth new testimonies of the everlasting love of our merciful Father. I can write na mair to you at the present. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you. In haste."

Emboldened by these successes, the Reformer was led to hope that he might even be able to speak a word with effect to the conscience of the Queen Regent. The idea of addressing a letter to her, "to move her to hear the Word of God," was suggested to him by the Earl Marischall and Henry Drummond, who had been "allured" to come and hear him by the Earl of Glencairn, and who enforced the suggestion by assuring him, from what they knew of the queen's disposition, that the moment was favourable. He complied with their request, and penned a letter to the Regent, which, for its courtesy of phrase and faithfulness of counsel, was equally suitable to her dignity as a queen and to his character as a minister of God. "I doubt not," said he, "but the rumours which came to your Grace's ears of me, have been such, that if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live on the earth; and wonder it is that the voices of the multitude should not so have inflamed your Grace's

heart with just hatred of such a one as I am accused to be, that all access to pity should have been shut up. I am traduced as an heretic, accused as a false teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which, affirmed by men of worldly honour and reputation, may easily kindle the wrath of magistrates when innocency is not known. But blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fire of displeasure in your Grace's heart (which of late days I have understood), that Satan is frustrate of his enterprise and purpose. Which to my heart is no small comfort; not so much (God is witness) for any benefit that I can receive in this miserable life by protection of any earthly creature (for the cup which it behoveth me to drink is appointed by the wisdom of Him whose counsels are not changeable), as that I am for that benefit, which I am assured your Grace shall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency towards others that most unjustly are and shall be accused. That is, if by godly wisdom ye shall study to bridle the rage and fury of them who, for maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard nothing the cruel murdering of simple innocents; then shall He who proclaimeth mercy to appertain to the merciful, and promiseth that a cup of cold water given for his name's sake shall not lack reward, first cause your happy government to be praised in this present age, and in posterity to come; and last, recompense your godly pains and study with that joy and glory which the eye hath not seen, nor yet can enter into the heart of mortal creature." This specimen of the letter must suffice. It ought to have made a right impression, but it did not. A day or two after the Regent received it, she handed it to Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, to read, with the contemptuous phrase, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." This "mockage" was reported to the stern Reformer, and Mary of Lorraine paid the penalty of her obduracy by not being forgotten in the "First Blast" of his trumpet "against the Monstrous Regiment of Women."

This incident served to reveal how little dependence could be placed upon the disposition of the Regent, and to prepare both Knox and his friends for a temporary suspension of his labours in the country. Just at this time arrived letters from the English congregation in Geneva, "commanding him in God's name, as he that was their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort." He determined to obey the call, and prepared to take his departure for a season. Revisiting almost all the congregations which he had before addressed, he exhorted them to meet together from time to time for prayers, the reading of the Scriptures, and mutual conference, "unto such time as God should give unto them greater liberty." Among other visits, "he passed to the old Earl of Argyle, who was then in the Castle of Campbell, where he taught certain days. The Laird of Glenurchy, Sir Colin Campbell, being one of his auditors, willed the said earl to retain him still; but he, purposed upon his journey, would not at that time stay for no request, adding, 'That if God so blessed these small beginnings that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient.' And so in the month of July he left this realm, and passed to France, and so to Geneva." Immediately afterwards the bishops summoned him anew, and, upon non-appearance, burnt him in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh—a dastardly deed, which Knox too much honoured in thinking it worthy even of an "appellation." His enemies were bold enough to confront his effigy, but they had shrunk like cravens from the encounter with himself.

This visit of Knox to Scotland was of immense service to the cause of the Reformation. The new converts whom he had gained to it were not only numerous, but many of them men of high rank and expectation, and of distinguished talents. Adherents like Lord James Stuart, the Prior of St. Andrews, Lord Lorn, the heir of Argyle, Lord Erskine, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, the Earl Marischall, the Lord of Glenurchy, and the old Earl of Argyle, were accessions to the ranks of Reform of the highest value, and vouchers that the

day of final triumph could not now be very far off. But to have secured even such conquests as these was not the largest part of the Reformer's success. He had not only added to the numbers and individual power of the Reformers; he had formed them into a body; he had given them union and organization and concentrated strength; he had taken particular pains to convince them of the sin of any longer taking even an apparent part in the corrupt worship of the dominant Church; and young Maitland of Lethington, after arguing this point with all his usual subtlety and skill, had been brought to own that it was impossible any longer to defend the practice. In thus cutting the last link that connected them with the Church of Rome, Knox had at the same time organized them to some extent into a distinct ecclesiastical body. They were now a "Congregation," or community of evangelical Christians, having a worship, a creed, and a discipline of their own; by which, as by common ties, they were now as much bound to one another, as they were dissevered from the Church of the Popes. In a word, the foundations were now laid of the coming Reformed Church of Scotland. In Hamilton's and Wishart's days, the Reformation was a reformed *doctrine;* but it was now becoming a new *rite.* For thirty years it had existed only as a new idea, and a new inner life in individual souls; but now, in its last stage, it begins to develop itself into the form of a new social worship, and a new ecclesiastical communion and organization.

Old St. Giles, Edinburgh.

Section 2. THE FIRST PROTESTANT "BAND." A.D. 1557—58.

THE hand of an overruling God was as conspicuous in the act of withdrawing Knox from the kingdom in 1556, as it had been in bringing him to it in the preceding year. His departure averted the storm of persecution that would otherwise have burst upon the revived cause; and the principles which he had laboured so hard to impress upon its adherents,

not being subjected to a premature trial of their strength, had time to root themselves deeply in the conviction of their minds. The congregations which he had organized continued to meet in secret in their several districts, and to edify and strengthen themselves by the Word of God, and by prayer.

The best illustration of these remarks is furnished by the contents of a short letter, which was written to the Reformer by some of the Protestant nobles in the spring of 1557; in which, though little more than nine months had elapsed since his departure, they expressed their earnest desire for his return. It was signed by Glencairn, Lorn, Erskine, and Lord James Stuart. "The faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts," they said, "thanks be to God, are steadfast in the belief whereinto ye left them, and have ane godly thirst and desire day by day of your presence again; whilk, if the Spirit of God will so move and permit time unto you, we will heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye will return again into these parts, where ye shall find all faithful that ye left behind you; not only glad to hear your doctrine, but will be ready to jeopard lives and goods in the setting forward of the glory of God, as He will grant opportunity; and albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them, yet at the making hereof, we have no experience of any mair cruelty to be used than was before, but rather we have belief that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the freirs, enemies to Christ's Evangel, in less estimation, baith with the queen's grace, and the rest of the nobility of our realm. Off Stirling, the 10th of March, 1557."

This letter, which was conveyed to Knox's hands in Geneva by his friends James Syme and James Barron, had arisen out of a conference of the leading Reformers, held in Stirling in the beginning of March. The question moved in this conference had been one of the utmost importance. It was, whether the time had not now come for united public action, both in the way of defence and aggression. Their meetings for

evangelical worship had hitherto been private, and their aims as congregations had been restricted to their own religious instruction and improvement; but they had now come to consider the duty which was incumbent on them as Christian men to make a public confession of the truth of Christ, and to appear openly for its defence and advancement, and the duty, too, which as citizens, and many of them nobles of the realm, they owed to the common weal. Could they be content in either character to possess the truth themselves? Must they not do their utmost to procure the public setting forth of it by faithful preachers to their countrymen at large? Must they not stand prepared to defend their preachers and congregations from the oppression and persecution of the dominant Church? And ought they not to use all their power and authority as barons and magistrates, in their several localities, to promote and protect that work of Reformation, which was the one great necessity of the country and of the times? Such were the weighty questions which were discussed and concluded in the conference of Stirling; and the conclusion unanimously arrived at was, that they would accept these public duties however dangerous, and proceed in "the enterprise," as they bravely called it, however difficult. It was no wonder that at such a time they wished to have Knox at their head. They needed an intrepid captain like him to lead them in such a battle. They needed a prophet's voice like his to strengthen and inspire them in the conflict which was now at hand.

When the excitement of the conference was over, and its members had dispersed to their own homes, it was natural enough that some of them should begin to feel misgivings as to the wisdom of the movement to which they had committed themselves, and that these doubts should at length find their way to the leaders who had communicated with Knox. It was equally natural that other friends of the cause, who had taken no part in the conference, should feel alarm at the magnitude and the perils of the contemplated undertaking, and should

use all their influence with the leaders to induce them to postpone their purpose. The moment was one when nothing but intrepid constancy in the heads of the party could maintain the spirit, and reassure the courage of their followers. But in the absence of Knox himself, this constancy proved for a time to be wanting. The lords judged it necessary that "new consultation should be appointed for final conclusion of the matter before purposed," and when the Reformer arrived at Dieppe on the 23d of October, on his way to Scotland, he had the mortification of finding letters awaiting him there; in which they "willed him to abide in those parts till they saw their way to a final determination." He felt keenly the awkward position in which this vacillation placed him in relation to Calvin and his other friends in Geneva, whose counsel he had asked and followed in complying with "the vocation" which the lords had sent to him; and he was "pierced with anguish and sorrow" by the thought, that all hope of the deliverance of his country from bondage was gone, when even the best and stoutest of her sons lost heart and failed her in her hour of need. It was with these feelings that he wrote to the lords from Dieppe, on the 27th of October. He could not conceal from them how much he was "confounded" and troubled by their inconstancy; and reminding them that "wise men ought to understand that a true friend cannot be a flatterer," he told them plainly that in lending themselves, as he understood they were doing, to the public support of the Regent and the French faction, instead of following out faithfully their former purpose, they were betraying their country to "the slavery of strangers." "What are the sobs, and what is the affection of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare. But this will I add, to wit, if any persuade you for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he esteemed never so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish, and your mortal enemy; foolish, because he understandeth nothing of God's approved wisdom; and enemy unto you, because he laboureth to separate you from God's

favour; provoking his vengeance and grievous plagues against you, because he would that ye should prefer your worldly rest to God's praise and glory, and the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of your brethren. I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprise, as in my former letters I did signify unto you; but O joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God's will revealed by his word. For how terrible that ever they appear to the judgment of the natural man, yet are they never able to devour nor utterly to consume the sufferers, for the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him." "God speaketh to your consciences, unless ye be dead with the blind world, that you ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for the deliverance of your brethren; for only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage, at God's commandment; not by reason of your birth and progeny, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that letter which I directed to the whole nobility; and let every man apply the matter and case to himself, for your conscience shall one day be compelled to acknowledge that the Reformation of religion and of public enormities doth appertain to more than to the clergy or chief rulers called kings. The mighty spirit of the Lord Jesus rule and guide your counsels, to his glory, your eternal comfort, and to the consolation of your brethren. Amen."

Words of prophet-like faith and power like these, could not fall upon the ears of Christian patriots without effect. They rallied them at once to the battle, like the sound of a trumpet. Immediately "new consultation was had what was best to be done, and in the end it was concluded that they would follow forward their purpose once intended, and would commit them-

selves, and whatsoever God had given them, in his hands, rather than they would suffer idolatry so manifestly to reign, and the subjects of that realm so to be defrauded, as long they had been, of the only food of their souls—the true preaching of Christ's Evangel. At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December, 1557, a "Common Band" was made, and by some subscribed, 'that every one should be the more assured of other,' the tenor whereof follows :—

"We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage seeking to downthring and to destroy the Evangel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in Him. The whilk our duty being weall considered, we do promise before the Majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and his congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the haill congregation of Christ and every member thereof, at our haill powers and waring of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the whilk holy word and congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof, and, moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation by our subscriptions at these presents. God called to witness—

A. Erle of Ergile.
Glencarne.
Morton.
Archibald, Lord of Lorne.
John Erskine of Doun."

Many other names besides these were subscribed to this solemn instrument, which was of the nature of a covenant, both with God and with each other, and the signing of which was solemnized "with humble confession of former offences, and with fasting and supplication unto God." The Reformers were the first Covenanters. They were now the *sworn* assertors and defenders of God's truth; and they felt themselves strengthened for their work and battle by that double pledge to God and to each other.

The following year, accordingly, was one of great boldness and activity. It began with the nobles and barons carrying out in their several localities, in virtue of their territorial powers and jurisdictions, "Two heads concerning the religion, and others concerning the policy," upon which they had agreed before leaving Edinburgh in December. The chief of these were (1) That the English "Book of Common Prayer should be read publicly in the Parish Kirks on Sundays and other Festivals, with the lessons of the New and Old Testament; and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same, and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read them. (2) That doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till afterward God shall move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers: and (3) That open crimes should be punished without respect of persons, by the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

In laying these first stones of the foundation of ecclesiastical reform, the old Earl of Argyle set a noble example. He took upon himself the maintenance of John Douglas, a zealous preacher, "and caused him preach publicly in his house, and reformed many things according to his counsel. The same boldness took divers others as well within towns as in landward parishes." For the ends of the new discipline elders were appointed by common election, to whom the whole

brethren promised obedience; and in the general want of public ministers of the word, certain zealous men exhorted the congregations according to the gifts and grace granted unto them. Among these were John Erskine, of Dun, David Forres, Robert Lockhart, Robert Hamilton, and others. But shortly after "did God stir up his servant, Paul Methven, who in boldness of spirit began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, and in divers parts of Angus and Fife, and so did God work with him that many began openly to abrenounce their auld idolatry, and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus and his blessed ordinances; insomuch, that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public church reformed, in which the word was openly preached, and Christ's Sacraments truly ministered." The forwardness of the zealous burghers of Dundee procured for their good town the honourable name of the Geneva of Scotland; and its municipal records still contain interesting traces of the measures which were adopted by its magistrates, as early as 1558, to introduce the prescriptions and sanctions of the new discipline.

The clergy and their abettors could not fail to be greatly troubled and alarmed at these bold proceedings of the Reformers. They had but one weapon to fight the battle with—the old sword of persecution, already stained with the blood of so many martyrs—and they resolved again to unsheath it. First, the primate of St. Andrews resolved to summon the Earl of Argyle's preacher, John Douglas, and sent Sir David Hamilton to the stout old lord with a credence in six articles, to persuade him by every possible argument to dismiss the heretic from his house, and leave him unprotected to the extreme censures of the church. But the earl was too much of the Christian and the man of honour to listen to such a base demand. He sent back a lengthened and noble reply to the primate's articles, taking them up and disposing of them one by one; and John Douglas remained unscathed behind the targets and broadswords of the great Highland Chief.

The primate's next attempt was as dastardly as his first was

dishonourable. Recoiling from conflict with Argyle's lordly might, he was mean enough to make an attack upon old age and decrepitude, in the person of Walter Mill, "that blessed martyr of Christ," as Knox calls him. When Mill was brought forth to his trial at St. Andrews, on the 20th of April, 1558, the old man was so feeble that he had to be helped up into the pulpit where he was to answer to his articles; but when he began to speak, his voice "had so great courage and stoutness that the church rang again." His first words when he rose from his knees were, "We ought to obey God rather than man;" and his last on the same spot were, "I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, 'What thou doest do quickly.' Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but I will abide both."

So great was the admiration and sympathy felt in St. Andrews for the brave and good old priest, that not a man in the city would sell or lend a rope to bind him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him; and when he died in the fire, "so great was the mourning and lamentation of the multitude, that they were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for the religion."

This cruel execution gave a death-blow to the power of the Papal Church of Scotland, and disabled it for ever for inflicting any similar stroke. The feeling of the multitude at St. Andrews became the feeling of the multitude everywhere. "Immediately after his death began a new fervency amongst the whole people;" and this fervency showed itself in a wide-spread iconoclasm. "The images were stolen away in all parts of the country, and in Edinburgh was that great idol St. Gile first drowned in the North Loch and afterwards burnt." The friars ran upon the bishops with their complaints, "rowping like ravens," and the bishops ran upon the queen, who, though favourable enough to them, "yet thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon

them the defence of the Evangel, and the name of Protestants." "But yet the bishops," continues Knox, in a passage of remarkable graphic force and humour, "could in no sort be quiet, for St. Gile's day approaching—the 1st of September, 1558—they gave charge to the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, either to get again the auld St. Gile, or else upon their expenses to make ane new image. The council answered that to them the charge seemed very unjust, for they understood that God in some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed; but where he had commanded images to be set up they had not read, and desired the bishop to find a warrant for his commandment; whereat the bishop offended, admonished them under pain of cursing—which they prevented by a formal appellation, appealing from him as a partial and corrupt judge unto the pope's holiness. Yet would not the priests and friars cease to have that great solemnity and manifest abomination which they accustomably had upon St. Gile's day, to wit, they would have that idol borne, and therefore was all preparation necessary duly made. A marmouset idol," *i.e.* a little monkey-looking image, "was borrowed from the Grey friars, and was fast fixed with iron nails upon a barrow called a fertour. There assembled priests, friars, and canons, and rottin papists, with taborns and trumpets, banners and bag-pipes; and who was there to lead the ring but the queen regent herself, with all her shavelings, for honour of the feast. The hearts of the brethren were wondrously inflamed, and seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, they were decreed to be revenged. There were some temporizers that day who laboured to stay the brethren, but that could not be, for immediately after the queen was entered into the lodging where she was to dine, some of those that were of the enterprise drew nigh to the idol as willing to help to bear him, and getting the fertour upon their shoulders began to shudder, thinking that thereby the idol should have fallen; but that was provided and prevented by the iron nails, and so began one to cry, 'Down with the idol, down with it,' and

so without delay it was pulled down. Some brag made the priests at first, but when they saw the feebleness of their god, for one took him by the heels, and dadding his head to the causeway, left Dagon without head or hands; this considered, we say, the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch. Down go the crosses, off go the surplices, round caps, and cornered crowns. The Grey friars gaped; the Black friars blew; the priests panted and fled; and happy was he that first gat the house; for such ane sudden fray came never amongst the generation of antichrist within this realm before. Search was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended; for the brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing psalms, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonied."

Such was what Knox calls "the tragedy of St. Giles." It was a comedy rather than a tragedy; and it fulfilled a poetical prediction of Lindsay in reference to this very image of the patron saint of Edinburgh, sooner than the poet himself perhaps expected—

> "Fy on you, fosterars of idolatrie!
> That to ane deed stock does sic reverence
> In presence of the people publiclie;
> Fear ye nocht God, to commit sic offence?
> I counsel you do yet your diligence,
> To gar suppress sik great abusion;
> Do ye nocht sa, I dreid your recompense,
> Sall be nocht else but clean confusion."[1]

[1] The Monarchie, in the part entitled, "Ane Exclamation against Idolatrie."

Old Montrose.

Section 3. First Petition of the Protestants to the Regent, and their Protestation before Parliament. A.D. 1558.

The Reformation was now to pass into a new phase. It had developed itself into an evangelical creed, and worship, and discipline, but it was still without political rights and protection. The State had as yet conceded to it only a single franchise, that of freedom to use the Word of God in the vernacular tongue; and the statute book contained many Acts

of the most hostile kind which were designed to repress and extinguish it. Its struggle for political recognition was now to begin.

This struggle had become a necessity. It was now abundantly certain that no religious redress or relief was to be expected from the rulers of the Church. Though more than thirty years had passed away since the Reformation began to be preached in Scotland, not a single bishop or mitred abbot had gone over to its side; nor in any of the councils which met during that long period, had a single authoritative voice ever been lifted up to plead for a larger measure of Church reform than might have been asked for and obtained before the great Reformation movement began. It was hopeless then to expect that the clergy would be induced to concede anything of importance to the demands of the Reformers. It was plain that the State must be appealed to, to decide between the two ecclesiastical parties. The authority of the Queen-Regent and the parliament must now be invoked to moderate and to end the strife.

Henceforth then the Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise, became a main figure in the action. It was not of course to be expected that the sister of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, would ever be gained over to the doctrines of the Reformation herself. The way in which she had treated Knox's fervent appeal to her conscience gave little hope of her personal conversion. The bishops, we may be sure, had no misgivings upon that score; but on the question of the policy which she was likely to pursue towards her Protestant subjects, now that they had grown up into a powerful party, having at their head a large number of the principal men of the kingdom, there was room both for apprehension to the bishops and for hope to the Reformers. For some time after her appointment to the regency, her public conduct had been somewhat ambiguous upon this important point, and her aim had seemed to be to give some degree of encouragement to the hopes of both parties. The truth was that she had political objects of her own to gain; and it was necessary for their attainment, that

for a time she should have the support both of the clergy and the Protestants. As a Frenchwoman, she preferred the interest and honour of France to those of her adopted country; as a Guise, she was zealous for the aggrandisement of her powerful brothers, who were now the chief managers of French affairs; and both of these objects were now intimately involved in the gaining of the crown matrimonial of Scotland for Francis, the husband of the young Scottish queen. Such an acquisition would make Francis and the Guises the rulers of Scotland as well as France; and to have the rule of Scotland was the indispensable condition of their success in reaching the ultimate object of their ambition—the rule of England itself. But the crown matrimonial could only be conferred by the vote of the Estates of the kingdom; and success in a meeting of the Estates was hopeless, if either the Catholic party or the Protestant party opposed the Regent's design. It was indispensable, till this design was realized, that she should retain the confidence of both, or at least not entirely disappoint the expectations of either; and being a princess of uncommon talent, and of consummate duplicity, she succeeded perfectly in playing this difficult part, and in attaining the object of her desires.

Hence it was that for a time she appeared to hold the balance pretty even between the two religious parties. If in 1556 she discouraged, on the one hand, the persecution which the bishops had commenced against Knox; she disappointed, on the other, the hope of any fruit of his letter to herself. If in 1558 she did not interfere to prevent the cruel execution of Mill, she affected to the Protestant lords to lament the cruelty of the archbishop, and to excuse herself as innocent in that cause; and when they, "nothing suspecting her falsehood, required some order to be taken against such enormities, she promised, as often before." At one time, she summoned the preachers, to please the angry clergy; and anon, she cast the summons again, to calm and conciliate the angry Protestants. On St. Giles's day, she joined in the procession of the Saint, at the risk of provoking the party who were fervent against that

abomination; and when the tumult was over, she made no great efforts to bring its authors to a reckoning for their offence. A policy of this kind left room for hope both to the mitred lords of the church, and to the coroneted lords of the congregation. The former still hoped to retain her as the Defender of the Faith; and to make this hope sure, they thought it a good investment of the Church's wealth, to tender to her "a large purse," worth, it is said, £40,000; while the latter did not yet despair of being able to move her by their petitions and complaints to become the Protector of the Congregation.

The First Petition of the Reformers to the Regent was presented in October, 1558. "After the deliberation of many days, it was concluded, with one consent, that by one public and common supplication, we should attempt the favours, support, and assistance of the Queen, then Regent, to a godly Reformation." To this step they were stimulated by the exhortations of John Willock, who had returned to Scotland at that time; and who, with that mixture of fervour and moderation which distinguished him, while anxious to see "some public Reformation" attempted, had counselled them to enterprise nothing without the knowledge of the constituted authority. The petition which they drew up, probably with Willock's assistance, is a document of great dignity and moderation in matter, as well as of remarkable beauty and purity of style; and its authors were careful to give it every advantage in the manner of its presentation; for, "After we had drawn our oraison and petitions," says their historian, "we appointed from amongst us a man whose age deserved reverence, whose honesty and worship might have craved audience of any magistrate upon earth, and whose faithful service to the authority at all times had been such, that on him could fall no suspicion of unlawful disobedience. This orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, knight, to whom we gave commission and power in all our names then present, before the Queen-Regent thus to speak:—

"Albeit we have of long time contained ourselves in that modesty, most noble Princess, that neither the exile of body, tinsall[1] of goods, nor perishing of this mortal life, was able to convene us to ask at your Grace reformation and redress of those wrangs and of that sore grief patiently borne of us in bodies and minds of so long time, yet are we now of very conscience and by the fear of our God, compelled to crave at your Grace's feet remedy against the most unjust tyranny used against your Grace's most obedient subjects, by those that be called the Estate Ecclesiastical. Your Grace can not be ignorant what controversy hath been and yet is, concerning the true religion and right worshipping of God, and how the clergy (as they will be termed) usurp to themselves such empire above the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without farther respect had to God's pleasure, commandment, or will, revealed to us in his most holy word; or else there abideth nothing for us but faggot, fire, and sweard; by the which many of our brethren most cruelly and most unjustly have been stricken of late years within this realm. Which now we find to trouble and wound our consciences; for we acknowledge it to have been our bound duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from those cruel murtherars, (seeing we are a part of that power which God hath established in this realm,) or else to have given open testification of our faith with them; which now we offer ourselves to do; lest that by our continual silence we shall seem to justify their cruel tyranny, which doth not only displease us, but your Grace's wisdom most prudently doth foresee that for the quieting of this intestine dissension, a further reformation as well in the religious as in the temporal government were most necessary; and to the performance thereof, most gravely and most godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted as well the clergy as the nobility to employ their study, diligence, and care. We, therefore, of conscience, dare no longer dissemble

[1] Loss.

in so weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God and our salvation. Neither now dare we withdraw our presence nor conceal our petitions, lest that the adversaries hereafter shall object to us that place was granted to reformation, and yet no man suited for the same, and so shall our silence be prejudicial unto us in time to come. And therefore we, knowing no other order placed in this realm but your Grace, in your grave council, set to amend as well the disorder ecclesiastical as the defaults in the temporal government, most humbly prostrate ourselves before your feet, asking your justice and your gracious help against them that falsely traduce and accuse us, as that we were heretics and schismatics, under that colour seeking our destruction; for that we seek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Christ's religion to be restored to the original purity. Farther, we crave of your Grace with open and patient ears to hear these our subsequent requests, and to the joy and satisfaction of our troubled consciences mercifully to grant the same, unless by God's plain word any be able to prove that justly they ought to be denied."

Then follow five requests or petitions. (1) That as they were already allowed by law to read the Scriptures in their common tongue, it should also be made lawful to them "to convene publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue." (2) That it should be lawful, if in their meetings any hard place of Scripture should be read, that any qualified persons in knowledge, being present, should interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory and the profit of the auditory. (3) That the Holy Sacrament of Baptism should be used in the vulgar tongue, and the god-fathers and Church then assembled should be instructed in their duties. (4) That the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should likewise be ministered in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of Christ Jesus. And lastly, that the wicked life of the prelates and state ecclesiastical should be so reformed, that the people by them

may not have occasion, as of many days they have had, to contemn their ministry, and the preaching whereof they professed to be messengers. This last petition they enforced in the following remarkable terms:—"And if they suspect that we, rather envying their honours or coveting their riches and possessions, than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travel and labour for this reformation; we are content not only that the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient fathers and the godly approved laws of Justinian the emperor, decide the controversy betwixt us and them. And if it shall be found that either malevolently or ignorantly we ask more than these three forenamed have required and continually do require of able and true ministers in Christ's Church, we refuse not correction, as your Grace with right judgment shall think meet. But and if all the forenamed shall damn that which we damn, and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech your Grace, that notwithstanding the long consuetude which they have had to live as they list, they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers; so that the grave and godly face of the primitive Church reduced, ignorance may be expelled, and true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the Church of this realm. These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your Grace, in the name of the eternal God and of his Son, Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne judicial, ye and all other that here on earth bear authority shall give accompts of your temporal regiment. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Grace's heart to justice and equity. Amen."

On hearing of these demands for reform thus publicly and solemnly made, the estate ecclesiastical began to storm. First they devised "all manner of lies" to deface the equity of the cause of the Reformers. Then they bragged that they would have a public disputation on the questions raised by the petition; but on this challenge being accepted by their

opponents on the condition that the plain Scriptures of God should decide all controversy, they refused the condition; for no judge would they admit but themselves, their councils, and the canon law. Next they professed their readiness to make some concessions; they would grant to the Protestants the liberty to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, provided it were done privately and not in open assembly, and provided also the Reformers would admit the mass to remain in its former reverence and estimation, grant purgatory after this life, confess prayer to saints and for the dead, and suffer the clergy to enjoy their accustomed rents, possessions, and honours. But the "grossness" of these articles was such that with one voice the Reformers refused them, and again sought audience of the Regent, to crave justice at her hand, and a reasonable answer to their former petitions. She received them very graciously, and while holding out to them the hope that some uniform order would ere long be established by parliament in the matters to which their petition referred, she gave them permission in the meantime "to use themselves godly according to their desires," provided they did not hold public assemblies for worship in Edinburgh or Leith; and she gave them also a promise of protection to their favourite preachers. "Nothing suspecting her doubleness and falsehood," they departed from the presence-chamber contented with her answer, and in deference to her wishes dissuaded John Douglas, who purposed to preach publicly in Leith, from carrying out his design.

But with equal address she managed, at the same time, to reassure and retain the confidence of the bishops. She revealed to them in secret her real disposition and designs, and promised that so soon as time and opportunity should serve, "she should so put order in their matters that afterwards they should not be troubled;" and that time, she hoped, was not now very far distant. A Parliament was to meet immediately, at which she expected to obtain the crown matrimonial for the French king; and a treaty of peace and

alliance was now on foot between France, Spain, England, and Scotland, which, by uniting all these kingdoms in the common bonds of Catholicism, promised to be the ruin of Lutheranism and the salvation of the Church.

When the Parliament met, she was still able, by her consummate skill in the arts of dissimulation, to make the protestant lords the tools of her ambition, while effectually counterworking their most cherished desires and designs. They had resolved to follow up their Petition to the Regent with another Petition to the Estates, in which they humbly required "that all such Acts of Parliament as in the time of darkness gave power to the Churchmen to execute their tyranny against them, by reason that to them they were delated as heretics, might be suspended and abrogated till a general council, lawfully assembled, should have decided all controversies in religion." But before presenting the petition to the Estates, they submitted it to the Regent, "because they were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowledge; most humbly requiring her favourable assistance in their just action." She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance, but "always she kept the bill close in her pocket;" and when, growing uneasy at this, they required of her Grace that their Petition should be proposed to the whole assembly, she answered, That she did not think such a course would be expedient, "for then would the whole ecclesiastical state be contrary to her proceedings in the affair of the crown matrimonial. But," she added, "how soon order can be taken with that matter, which might now be hindered by the Churchmen, ye shall know my good mind; and in the meantime, whatsoever I may grant unto you shall gladly be granted."

Strange to say, the leaders of the Congregation did not even yet suspect her treachery, and, "giving place to her pleasure," they consented to abstain from pressing their Petition upon the Parliament, rather than endanger the success of her favourite scheme. Happily, however, they did not altogether omit the duty which they owed to their great cause upon this occasion.

Instead of the *Petition* for redress of grievances which they had drawn up, they laid on the table of the Estates a *Protestation* breathing the same spirit, and directed to the same ends, but differing in immediate effect from the other, inasmuch as it did not oblige the Parliament to enter into any discussion of its contents, or in any practical way to dispose of them. "We suppose it is a thing sufficiently known," said they in this remarkable document, "that we were of mind at this present Parliament to seek redress of such enormities as our consciences are burdened withal; but considering that the troubles of the time do not suffer such reformation as we, by God's plain Word, do require, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestly we desire; and yet, lest that our silence should give occasion to our adversaries to think that we repent our former enterprise, we cannot cease to protest for remedy against that most unjust tyranny which we heretofore most patiently have sustained. And first, we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation according to God's Word, it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience as we must answer to God, unto such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's Church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same whensoever the sacred authority please to give us audience. Secondly, we protest that neither we, nor any other that godly list to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the invincible Word of God, shall incur any danger in life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such Acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such rites as man without God's commandment or Word hath commanded. Thirdly, we protest, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for the diversity of religion, and if it shall happen that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all things to be reformed by an order; but rather whatsoever inconvenient shall happen to follow for lack

of order taken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same. And last, we protest that these our requests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to none other end but to the reformation of abuses in religion only; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to take us, faithful and obedient subjects, in protection against our adversaries, and to shew to us such indifferency in our most just petitions, as it becometh God's lieutenants to do, to those that in His name do call for defence against cruel oppressors and bloodthirsty tyrants."

The Protestation was read aloud in Parliament, but was not allowed to be recorded. The Queen-Regent made a short speech, which, though spoken in indifferent English, showed what a perfect command she had of the ambiguous terms of the language. "Me will remember," she exclaimed, "what is protested, and me will put good order after this to all things that now be in controversy." No words could have been found better fitted to her purpose of seeming to promise much, while in reality she promised nothing; and the Reformers in Parliament, more honest than sagacious, and forgetful of the warnings of that Word which they loved, "not to put their trust in princes," "departed," the historian tells us, "in good esperance of her favours, and praising God in their hearts that she was so well inclined towards godliness."

The two Petitions and the Protestation now mentioned are of deep interest, and of great historical importance. They shew what was the *minimum* of reform which the protestant party would have been willing to accept, if the ecclesiastical estate had been willing to concede it. They suggest the reflection, how vastly different, apparently, the issues of the Reformation in Scotland would have been, if the clergy had not been utterly blind to the "signs of the times," and had embraced this the last opportunity which they were ever to have of making terms with an enemy who was ever increasing in power, and rising in the height of his demands. The Reformation demanded in 1558 was the Reformation which Sir David Lindsay had sketched in the "Monarchie" in 1554, and would

have preserved the episcopal fabric of the Church, even if it had necessitated a separation from Rome. But the Scottish bishops had not a single man among them who had received any tincture of the evangelical spirit, and their incurable corruption and obstinacy proved the ruin of their order in the Scottish Church. Their blind and scornful defiance of the demands of 1558 opened the way for the root-and-branch Reformation of 1560.

These documents of 1558 no less establish the important fact, that if the Reformation was soon afterwards effected in a violent and irregular manner by an explosion of popular fervour, the blame of this was not owing to the leaders of the Congregation, but to the rulers of the Church and the State. Most earnestly did the Reformers petition and protest for an orderly reformation, carried through by the regular constitutional action of the public authorities. Most distinctly did they forewarn the Regent and the Parliament of the consequences which would probably ensue from "lack of order taken" while there was yet time and opportunity. Most solemnly did they repudiate beforehand all responsibility for any "tumult and uproar" which should afterwards arise. Where, then, is the historical justice of throwing the blame of that tumult upon the men who did their utmost to prevent and provide against it? Ought it not rather to fall upon those blind and bigoted rulers who provoked resentment by their obstinate adherence to the most flagrant corruptions, and by their cruel persistence in persecutions, which it is rather to be marvelled at that innocent men should have tolerated so long, than that they should have risen up at last to put an end to them as altogether intolerable.

Old Church of Perth.

Section 4. Popular Tumults. The Reformation in Arms. 1559.

It was now time for the crafty Queen-Regent to throw off the mask which she had so long worn with such perfect address. She had made good her own objects. She no longer stood in need of protestant votes, and having succeeded in reducing the kingdom to a virtual dependency of the French monarchy, she felt strong enough to carry out without any longer delay the designs of the French court against the Reforming party. The

resolute purpose of the Guises was to annihilate the Reformation both in France and Scotland.

In a few months after the Parliament of October, 1558, she began to "disclose the latent venom of her double heart." Early in the spring of 1559, news was brought her that the town of Perth had embraced the Reformed worship, and had welcomed the ministrations of the preachers, John Christison and William Harlaw. Her real feelings in regard to the progress of Reform only needed such an occasion to reveal themselves. She was highly incensed by the tidings, and sent her commands to Lord Ruthven, provost of the town, instantly to suppress the new worship; and when Ruthven was so free as to reply, "That he could make the bodies of his citizens to come to her Grace, and to prostrate themselves before her, till she were fully satiated with their blood, but to cause them to do against their consciences, he could not promise," she sent him, in great anger, a second message, "That he was too malapert to give her such answer, and that both he and they should repent it." She sent instructions to James Halyburton, provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven; which Halyburton evaded by causing secret intimation to be given to the preacher to avoid the town for a time. When the season of Easter approached she sent "such men as she thought most able to persuade" to Dundee, Montrose, Perth, and other towns which had embraced the Gospel, to endeavour to induce them to return to the observation of Mass during that high festival of the Church; but all their persuasions were without effect. Meanwhile, the bishops, assembled in provincial synod in Edinburgh, were at her ear to turn all these irritating disappointments to account, and to inflame her resentment to the highest pitch. They had struck upon a new thought. They might have the satisfaction of seeing persecution renewed without bearing the public odium of being themselves the persecutors. Let the assumption of the function of preaching without ecclesiastical authority be called rebellion, as an invasion of the constituted order of the Church, as authorized

by the State ; and let the Regent take the initiative against the offenders, by summoning them as rebels as well as heretics. It was a happy idea, and the Regent was too much under the influence of hatred and resentment not to see that by adopting such counsel she made herself the tool of the bishops, and would at once launch her own personal credit and authority upon a struggle of which she could not foresee the end. The goadings of mistaken zeal, seconded by the urgency of her interested advisers, and by the known desires of the French Court, overcame her prudence, and committed her to a conflict with more than one half of her nobility and people, which was fatal to the peace and prosperity of the rest of her regency, and brought her life to a premature and unhappy end.

Soon after Easter she summoned all the preachers, viz. John Willock, Paul Methven, William Harlaw, and John Christison, to appear before her at Stirling on a charge of rebellion, on the 10th day of May. It was in vain that the protestant nobles interposed, and sought all means to appease her resentment, and protect the preachers. She was inflexible in her resolution ; the die was cast ; and the last decisive struggle of this long Reformation warfare was now to begin.

Just at this critical moment arrived again from Geneva, the very leader whom the Congregation needed—John Knox. On the 2d of May, 1559, he appeared in Edinburgh ; and as soon as he understood the position of affairs, he resolved to make common cause with his menaced brethren. It had already been determined "that the gentlemen of every country should accompany their preachers to Stirling, to give confession of their faith along with them, and assist them in their defence." This was exactly the course which Knox himself would have advised, and he immediately left Edinburgh for Dundee, to join the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns. It may easily be imagined with what joy they welcomed him to their ranks, and with what an accession of confidence they set off, with such a hero of the faith among them, to Perth, on their way to Stirling.

The hand of Divine Providence indeed was most conspicuous in bringing Knox to the assistance of his brethren at such a juncture. No one was so able as he to give courage, and inspiration, and direction, at such a time. It was his spirit, in fact, infused in absence by means of fervent epistles and appeals, into the protestant nobles, which had brought forward the cause of Reform into its present position. The noble words of their Petition and Protestation in the previous year were simply the echoes of his manly voice. Never had leader more thoroughly poured his own soul into the souls of his followers; and now that the followers were to gather and gird themselves in earnest for the strife, most fitting and most providential it was that the leader should appear again personally in the field, to marshal their ranks, and fight at their head the good fight of faith and duty. As soon as they arrived at Perth he began to preach, or rather, as he expresses it himself, to *exhort*, for all his words at this time were spurs and goads to rouse men to action and stoutness of courage in the cause of truth and liberty.

Though unarmed and men of peace, the numerous party who had now assembled at Perth were sensible of the alarm and suspicion which the Regent would naturally conceive on hearing of their approach. They therefore adopted the precaution of sending on to Stirling, John Erskine of Dun, "a zealous, prudent, and godly man," to declare to her that the cause of their convocation was only to give confession with their preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. Still she could not help feeling that such a proceeding amounted to a demonstration of physical force as well as of religious conviction—which, in truth, it was, and was partly meant to be; and for a time she seemed to feel the point of the warning, and to waver in her resolve. When she understood "the fervency of the people, she began to craft" with Erskine, begging him "to stay the multitude and also the preachers, and promising that she would take some better order;" and so much in earnest did she seem, that Erskine

conceived sanguine hopes of a change of purpose, and wrote to his friends at Perth to dissuade them from coming forward; a course which, though disapproved at first by some, who predicted that she would prove false, was at length concurred in unanimously by all.

Here, then, was a brief pause in the action, during which the Queen-Regent and her counsellors had one more opportunity of avoiding the collision which was now imminent. But again she gave ear to evil advisers instead of taking counsel with her own prudence. She violated her promise to Erskine; took a base advantage of the non-appearance of the preachers at Stirling on the day appointed; and in spite of every solicitation that could be made by Erskine and the Master of Maxwell to the contrary, gave commandment to put them all to the horn as rebels; "inhibiting all men, under the like pains of rebellion, to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort"—a most unprincely act, and a heinous injustice which could only have been perpetrated by a ruler who held the principle which she had not long before avowed to the Earl of Glencairn, when he reminded her of her manifold promises to protect the Protestant preachers, that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises further than it pleaseth them to keep the same." So grossly immoral were her maxims of government, and that, too, in dealing with subjects who had become fervent disciples of the high and holy morality of the word of God. Who can be surprised at the ferment of indignation which followed such an act of unblushing oppression? or who can greatly blame men for rebelling against an act which wickedly entrapped them into the position of rebels?

What consequences instantly resulted from this treacherous proceeding of the Queen-Regent, must be told in Knox's own words, for no narrative could equal his own in historic value and in graphic effect.

"The Laird of Dun coming to St. Johnstoun, expounded the case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the Queen's craft and falsehood. Which

understood, the multitude was so inflamed that neither could the exhortation of the preacher nor the commandment of the magistrate stay them from destroying of the places of idolatry. The manner whereof was this: The preachers before had declared how odious was idolatry in God's presence, what commandment He had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof, what idolatry and what abomination was in the mass. It chanced the next day, which was the eleventh of May, that after the sermon, which was vehement against idolatry, a priest in contempt would go to the mass, and to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar. There stood beside certain godly men, and among others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, 'This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow, who in anger took up a stone and casting at the priest did hit the tabernacle and brake down an image; and immediately the whole multitude that were about cast stones, and put hands to the said tabernacle and to all other monuments of idolatry, which they despatched before the tenth man in the town were advertised (for the most part were gone to dinner); which noised abroad, the whole multitude convened—not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the *rascal multitude*, who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the Gray and Black Friars, and notwithstanding that they had within them very strong guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon the idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil; but the preachers before had so threatened all men that for covetousness' sake none should put their hand to such a Reformation, that no honest man (*i.e.* no man of respectability) was enriched thereby the value of a groat. Their conscience so moved them, that they suffered these hypocrites to take away what they could of that which was in their places. So were men's consciences before beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, and the places and monuments thereof; in which they were so busy and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, to wit, the Gray and Black thieves and Charterhouse monks (a building of a wondrous cost and greatness) were so destroyed that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications."

If the treacherous tyranny of princes is grievous to subjects, the tumults of subjects, and their uncontrollable violence, are no less grievous to princes, and prove too easily the occasion for new tyrannies. When this outbreak at Perth was reported to the Queen, she was so enraged that she vowed "utterly to

destroy the town, man, woman, and child, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in sign of a perpetual desolation." She instantly sent for the great nobles of the kingdom, and induced a majority of them to consent to assist her in pursuing the men assembled at Perth as rebels. She summoned to her aid several bands of French soldiers, who were quartered at different points, and arranged her military plans with Mons. D'Osell, the French king's lieutenant. Not only the Duke of Chatelherault, but even the young Earl of Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, were induced for a time to take part in her measures, under the impression that a rebellion was intended; while the bishops and abbots, more zealous against the destroyers of the monasteries as heretics than as rebels, "ceased not to cast faggots on the fire; continually crying out, Forward upon these heretics, and we shall rid the realm of them once for all, and for ever."

The cry to arms on one side inevitably led to the cry to arms on the other. A war of religion began; and it was indeed deplorable to see the Reformation compelled to lay aside the sword of the Spirit, and to take up the carnal weapons of the world. But the blame was with the Regent, not with the Reformers. It was false to allege that the Reformers intended rebellion. The breaking down of images and the levelling of churches was not a rebellion, but a tumult. On the part of the Reformers, the civil war which was now to follow was one of pure defence against tyranny and oppression; and they felt and maintained with abundant reason that such a war of defence was just. "As heretofore," they observed in a letter of remonstrance addressed to her Grace from Perth, on the 22d of May, "with jeopard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have served the authority of Scotland and your Grace, now Regent in this realm, in service to our bodies dangerous and painful; so now with most dolorous minds we are constrained by unjust tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto your Grace, That except this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom, we will be compelled to take the

sweard in just defence against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, for conscience' sake, which ought not, nor may not, be subject to mortal creatures, farther than by God's word man be able to prove that he hath power to command us. We signify, moreover, unto your Grace, that if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreme defence, we will not only notify our innocency and petitions to the King of France, to our mistress and her husband, but also to the princes and counsel of every Christian realm, declaring unto them that this cruel, unjust, and most tyrannical murder intended against towns and multitudes was and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience—which, in God's presence, we faithfully promise to our sovereign mistress, to her husband, and unto your Grace Regent, provided that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty which Christ Jesus hath purchased to us by his blood."

A noble manifesto! the language of men become conscious of the greatness of their manhood; of freemen, who have learned that liberty of conscience is the most sacred and precious of all liberties; of Christians who have become really awake to the value and authority of the truth of God.

To say a word at this time of day in vindication of the principles of this manifesto, would be an absurd anachronism; for what great nation of Europe has not since then passed through revolutions produced by the explosive action of the same principles? and what literature of civilized men does not contain equivalents for the grand words which then flowed from the pen of the Scottish Reformers? While a nation is a child, it speaks like a child, because it understands like a child; but when it becomes a man, it understands like a man, and speaks like a man, and puts away theories of slavish obedience and submission to the tyranny of priests and princes as childish things.

The story of the two months' struggle which followed the resolution of the Regent to pursue the Reformers with the sword, though full of incident and vicissitude, must be rapidly

told. Happily the actual collisions which took place between the contending parties were few, and very little blood was shed on either side. The brief campaign, if such it can be called, was more fruitful in "appointments," or treaties, than in battles. At Perth, the Regent's forces found themselves outnumbered by the Reformers; for the latter had been strengthened by an accession of 2,500 men from Ayrshire, who had hurried over mountain and moor to the aid of their brethren, under the gallant conduct of the Earl of Glencairn; so that she was obliged to accept an "appointment," dated the 28th of May, by which she engaged to leave the citizens unmolested in the exercise of their religion, while the Reformers on their side engaged to break up from Perth, and return to their several countries. This appointment she violated in many points; but her faithlessness cost her dear, for it caused the secession from her ranks of Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyle, who from that moment became the chief strength of the opposite party, both in counsel and in the field. At Cupar Moor, where she made a second demonstration of force, in order to put a stop to a work of reformation which was going on at St. Andrews, she found herself again in the same situation, and was under the humbling necessity of agreeing to an "assurance," dated the 13th of June, by which she bound herself to abstain for eight days from "invading, troubling, or inquieting" the Protestant Lords; and under which, the only advantage she gained was the ignominious one of being allowed to withdraw her troops unattacked to the south side of the Firth.

Contrary to the "appointment" of Perth, she had left a garrison of soldiers in that town, by whom its evangelical citizens were miserably oppressed, and the Lords convened under its walls for its relief on the 24th of June. But the siege was very short. After a single volley from Lord Ruthven, who besieged the west quarter, and another from the men of Dundee, who beleaguered the east, the captains of the garrison sued for terms, and they were allowed to depart the town at noon the

next day, with ensigns displayed, "without further molestation." At Stirling, where the Regent intended to dispute the passage of the Forth, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James anticipated her French bands, and without once crossing swords with them, got secure possession. At Linlithgow, the reformers found that the Frenchmen had continued their retreat to Edinburgh; and at Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 29th of June, they found the cannon of the castle peaceable, and the city evacuated by the Regent, who had withdrawn to Dunbar. Their advance had been a continued series of victories without blood, and the Regent's retreat a train of discomfitures with hardly a show of fight.

At Edinburgh, however, by and by, the tide of success began to turn. The Regent's French troops, though too few to cope with the reformers when in full force, were regular soldiers in constant pay. The forces of the Lords of the Congregation, being levied and provisioned only for a few weeks, could not be long kept together; and as soon as they found that there was to be no fighting about Edinburgh, they began to disperse and melt away. The Regent was well aware of this peculiarity of a Scottish feudal army; and she managed to prolong the negotiations which went on between her and the Protestant lords, till it had fully developed itself. If she was inferior to them in arms, she was as much their superior in finesse. "To no point proposed by them would she answer directly, but in all things was so general and ambiguous," that at last her craft became manifest to all. But they were too late in discovering it. While they were reasoning and protocolling to no purpose with her commissioners at Preston, their "company" at Edinburgh was already "skailled;" and when the Regent, cleverly seizing her opportunity, marched suddenly upon them from Dunbar, they found themselves outnumbered and outgeneraled in their turn. They were compelled to accept an "appointment," which in such circumstances could only be of the nature of an unsatisfactory compromise. It secured to

their party much less than they could have wished, and it guaranteed even that little only for a time. The appointment was dated the 24th of July, 1559, and was to hold only till the Parliament met on the 10th of January, 1560.

The Lords, with the slender remains of their followers, immediately withdrew to Stirling, where, after renewing their band for "maintenance of religion and for mutual defence" on the 1st of August, and arranging to hold a convention in Stirling on the 10th of September, for consultation and further action, they separated to their different dwellings and domains.

But the brief campaign which we have thus hurriedly sketched had the curious peculiarity of being as much a campaign of attack upon Romish superstition, as a campaign of defence against civil and ecclesiastical oppression. Wherever the Reformers marched, they carried a sword in one hand and a crow-bar in the other. Unlike the Jews under Nehemiah, their mission was not to fight and to build up, but to fight and to pull down. Wherever they appeared, the churches were thoroughly purged of images and mass-altars, and the monasteries were levelled with the ground in a tempest of indignation and disgust. The work of demolition and purgation which was begun in a frenzy of popular rage at Perth, was continued in a more deliberate manner in St. Andrews, Cupar, and other places in Fife, and at Scone, Cambuskenneth, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh. The parish churches were spared after being roughly purged; but the monastic buildings, including many beautiful churches, were demolished with an unsparing hand. In Stirling and Edinburgh the monasteries were attacked and sacked by the multitude before the Lords arrived; and at Scone, the demolition was carried through by the townsmen of Dundee and Perth, in spite of the most earnest exertions of the noblemen and of Knox himself to save the palace and church, which were of national and historic interest. These facts reveal the strength and violence of the public hatred of the religious orders. It was a long accumulation of popular feeling which exploded

that summer against the Scottish monks. The indolence, the greed, the impurities, and the hypocrisies of ages were avenged and expiated in a single day. And are such storms of national indignation to be lamented for the havoc that they work upon buildings and monuments of art? No! Like storms in the air, they clear the moral and social atmosphere of nations; they dissipate the accumulated poison of bad principles, bad examples, and bad institutions; they explode at small cost the choke-damp of popular discontent, which would otherwise find a vent for itself with much more fatal effects; and though they leave many ruins upon the ground, to mark the way they took in their irresistible progress, they make room, by these very demolitions, for edifices and institutions of a more useful and beneficial kind. It would be childish to lament and condemn the law of storms in nature because of the wreck and ruin with which they cover the land and the ocean. And what less than childish is it to be lamenting for ever the fall of monastic refectories, and dormitories, and churches, as mere buildings, and to be for ever condemning the Reformation as the cause of all that ruin; when in virtue of the explosion, a nation was delivered for ever from the corrupt and corrupting institution of monkery, and saw the primitive order both of nature and Christianity reasserted and restored? We confess no little admiration for fine buildings, but we have more for good morals. We love "the Gothic" much, but we love pure Christianity more; and no doubt it is a happy state of things when we can have our love for both gratified at the same time and by the same institutions. But when architectural losses are all we have to pay for moral and religious reformations, we think the bargain a very good one, and worthy to be congratulated and gratefully remembered by all the wise and good.

The Reformation in St. Andrews and Edinburgh had some points of peculiar interest in relation to John Knox, which must not be omitted. In the former city it was Lord James Stewart the Commendator of the Priory, who took the direction of the

work; and Knox was invited by him to preach on Sunday, the 10th of June, in the pulpit of the Cathedral. But as soon as the Archbishop heard of this intention, he hastened into the city from Falkland with a hundred spears, and on Saturday night sent a message to the Prior to say, "that in case John Knox presented himself to the preaching-place in his town and principal Church, he should gar him be saluted with a dozen of culverines, whereof the most part should light upon his nose." Lord James and Argyle were alarmed, and did their utmost to dissuade Knox from preaching. But the reformer stood firm—he spoke like a hero. "As for the fear of danger that shall come to me, let no man be solist, for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me; only do I crave audience." "At these words the lords were fully content that he should occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday, and did entreat of the ejection of the buyers and sellers furth of the Temple of Jerusalem; and so applied the corruption that was there to the corruption that is in the Papistrie, and Christ's part to the duty of those to whom God gave the power and zeal thereto, that as weill the magistrates, as the commonalty for the most part within the town did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition."

In Edinburgh, after steps had been taken for the suppression of all superstitious monuments within the city, and in all the places adjacent, the magistrates and many of the leading citizens met in the Tolbooth on the 7th of July, and elected Knox to be their minister; and he immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties as first reformed pastor of the capital of the kingdom. For the first time his intrepid voice was heard ringing through the vaults of the great church of St. Giles, where for thirteen years afterwards, with occasional interruptions, it continued not only to be heard, but to be obeyed. For it was the voice, not only of a true man, but of a true minister of God—a man and a minister who was "the apostle of the Scots," in the judgment of foreigners; and who, in

the estimation of his own countrymen, was almost a prophet—a "preacher of righteousness in the spirit and power of Elias." But it was not till the civil war was over that Knox could exercise his ministry statedly in the capital. He was too important a personage, and too obnoxious to the Queen-Regent and the Bishops, to be left exposed to the dangers of a residence in Edinburgh, in the absence of the Protestant Lords. John Willock took his place for a time, while Knox went on a preaching expedition through the south and west of the kingdom. From St. Andrews, which continued to be his headquarters till the ensuing spring, he wrote to one of his correspondents on the 2d of September, in the following glowing terms, respecting the progress of the proper work of the Reformation throughout the realm :—

"I have been in continual travel since the day of appointment, and, notwithstanding the fevers have vexed me the space of a month, yet have I travelled through the most part of this realm, where, all praise be to his blessed Majesty, men of all sorts and conditions embrace the truth. Enemies we have many, by reason of the Frenchmen who are lately arrived, of whom our parties hope golden hills, and such support as we are not able to resist. We do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets as God giveth strength, hoping victory by his favour alone. Christ Jesus is preached even in Edinburgh, and his blessed sacraments rightly ministered in all congregations where the ministry is established; and they be these, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, St. Johnstoun, Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, and Ayr. And now Christ Jesus is begun to be preached upon the south borders, in Jedburgh and Kelso, so that the trumpet soundeth over all, blessed be our God."

Old Church of Leith.

Section 5. Civil War. Treaty with England, and the Siege of Leith. 1559, 1560.

The struggle was now to pass into the phase of civil war—a war not only of religious freedom, but of national independence—a war of emancipation, not only from the yoke of Rome, but from the yoke of France.

As a religious conflict, the success of the Reformation was already virtually decided. Thirty-four years of faithful testimony to the truth, at an immense expense of suffering and blood, had at length gained over the national mind to the side

of religious reform ; and in two short months the altars and the idols of superstition had been destroyed, amidst the acclamations of the people, in ten of the principal towns of the kingdom, including both the ecclesiastical and the civil capitals. These two months had also virtually decided the conflict, viewed as a trial of material strength between two native Scottish parties. Apart from the French forces, it was now no longer doubtful with which party the advantage of numbers and resources lay. The nobles were rapidly going over to the camp of the Reformers, and the last scene of the brief campaign just concluded was an interview between the Lords of the Congregation and the two most powerful noblemen of the kingdom, the Duke and the Earl of Huntley, in which both the latter had promised to join them, if the Regent should discover any intention to add to the number of her French auxiliaries—a promise which they had speedily occasion to fulfil. It was now evident, therefore, that the material as well as the moral strength of the nation was on the side of reform, and that the sole reliance of the Regent and the bishops was on foreign aid. If the yoke of Rome was still to be pressed down upon the neck of the nation, it could only be by the help of the veteran legions of France ; and now that that was the policy which was to be energetically pursued, it became clear to almost all Scotsmen that the struggle had become one of patriotism as well as of religion—a struggle against French interference and dictation, as well as against the Pope of Rome. The history of the next twelve months is the history of a civil war, in which the nation, aided by England, appears in arms against its rulers, aided by France. It is a history of the deepest interest to the Scottish people. That war was the very hinge and crisis of their national destiny ; the fiery purgatory through which they passed from the corruption and dregs of mediæval bondage and superstition, into the happy condition of light and liberty, which, with steadily advancing though often interrupted development, has marked their modern life. But a civil war need only be hastily sketched in a history of religious life.

We can only touch the principal events, referring the reader for details to the works of civil historians.

Preparations had begun on both sides for this ulterior stage of the contest, even before the close of the two months' campaign—on the side of the Regent, by the demand for fresh troops from France, and on the side of the Reformers, by negotiations for an alliance with England. Events had just happened in both these powerful kingdoms which were equally favourable to the hopes of both the contending parties. By the death of Henry II., Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, had become King of France, and the house of Guise had risen to the pinnacle of power; and by the death of Mary Queen of England, the Princess Elizabeth had acceded to the throne, and Protestantism was again in the ascendant both in Church and State. Both France and England, therefore, might now be relied upon to interfere effectually in the Scottish war—all the more that it soon became evident that the French court had resolved to put forward against Elizabeth the pretensions of Mary to the English crown; and that Elizabeth, stung to the quick by the discovery of this design, was determined to oppose the most vigilant and energetic resistance to the ambition of France. Scotland was thus destined to be converted into a battle-field, on which the quarrels of these foreign rivals, as well as her own civil and religious contests, were to be fought out; and she must become either a great loser or gainer by the encounter of these mighty powers upon her soil.

The idea of opening a correspondence with the English court originated with Knox, and the first letters were written by William Kirkaldy, of Grange, at his suggestion. "The said John being in St. Andrews after Cupar-muir, entered in deep discourse with the Laird of Grange; the dangers were evident, but the support was not easy to be seen. After many words, John Knox burst forth as follows:—'If England would foresee their ane commodity,[1] yea, if they did consider the danger wherein they themselves stand, they would not suffer

[1] Advantage or interest.

us to perish in this quarrel, for France hath decreed no less the conquest of England than of Scotland.' After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two that support should be craved of England, and for that purpose the said Laird of Grange first wrote to Sir Harry Percy, and afterwards rode from Edinburgh and spake with him." Kirkaldy's first letter to Percy remained unanswered, and has not been preserved; but his second and third letters to Percy, and several others addressed by him to Sir William Cecil and Sir James Crofts, are still extant, and are highly honourable to the zeal and wisdom of that gallant soldier and patriot. His first letter to Cecil, dated June 23, 1559, was sent through Sir Henry Percy, at Norham, and speedily called forth from that wise statesman a most encouraging reply. As the proprieties of his high office as Secretary of State did not permit him to communicate directly on such weighty affairs with a private individual, Cecil desired Percy to seek an interview with Kirkaldy, and to show him a letter in which he instructed Percy as follows:—

"To say unto him, that for his letter I do privately thank him for so friendly a participation with me of such a matter; and ye may assure him, that rather than that realm should be under a foreign nation and power, oppressed and deprived of the ancient liberties thereto belonging, and the nobility thereof, and specially such as at this present seek to maintain the truth of the Christian religion, be expelled, the authority of England would adventure with power and force to aid that realm against any such foreign invasion; and, indeed, I dare also affirm, would be as sorry to see that ancient nation to be overthrown and oppressed, as this our own."

Knox took an important part in the negotiations thus happily begun, both by letters and by personal interview with Sir James Crofts at Berwick. He continued to press Cecil for some explicit promises of assistance, even after most of the Lords, disappointed by the cautious and fault-finding tone of the Secretary's later letters, "despaired of any comfort to come from that country, and therefore were determined to request no farther;" and, at last, his repeated and urgent communica-

tions were crowned with success. Elizabeth was for a long time reluctant to interfere in the contest; but her reluctance was at length overcome by the persevering representations of Cecil and other members of her council. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent down to Berwick, by a commission granted on the 8th of August, to put himself in communication with the Scottish Protestants, and to aid them with his advice, and with subsidies of money. In addition to these substantial marks of friendship, Cecil was careful to keep them well informed, from time to time, of the designs and preparations of France. On the 8th of July, for example, he desired Crofts to contrive some means of advertising them that the French king "intended with speed to send an army into Scotland, of twenty ensignies of footmen, and two hundred men at arms, and that the Protestants were to be assayed with all fair promises first, next with money, and last with arms." The feeling which dictated all these acts of friendly succour, in addition to considerations of policy and interest, was warmly expressed by Cecil in a letter to the Lords of the Congregation, on the 28th of July. "The proceedings in Scotland," he remarked, "for the abandonment of idolatry and the maintenance of the freedom of their country from strangers, are such as all Christian men ought to allow. Nothing can be more joyful to them in England, who have exalted their queen to her kingdom, and brought in their Saviour Jesus Christ, than that the same blessing may come to Scotland. They in England should be utterly void of zeal to God were they not to favour the purposes of the Lords."

On the side of France, preparations for the reduction and conquest of Scotland were pushed forward with vigour, and were openly boasted of by her officers at the Scottish court. The Sieur de Béthencourt, chamberlain to the Queen Dowager, on returning to Scotland, at the beginning of August, from France, to which he had been sent with despatches, told some of the Lords that he was instructed to say, that the French king would spend the crown of France before he would fail of his

revenge for their sedition. Throughout the autumn of 1559, the French forces were actively employed in strengthening the fortifications of Leith, so as to secure for themselves an impregnable position in the kingdom, and the garrison continued to receive large accessions of fresh troops from France. Many of these soldiers brought with them their wives and children—a fact which was fairly construed to indicate a design on the part of the French to establish themselves permanently in the country, especially when it became known that many of the native inhabitants of Leith were dislodged and driven out of the town to make way for these intruders. The Queen-Regent did her utmost to cloak that design. She took God to witness, in her proclamations and letters, that all such reports as were spread by the Congregation to that effect were "most vain, faigned, and untrue," and she solemnly declared, that if for every Frenchman that was then in Scotland, she had a hundred at her command, "yet should not for that, one jot of what she had promised be broken, but the appointment be truly and surely observed in every point." "Ye shall ever find with us truth in promises, and ane motherly love towards all." But the Lords, in their counter proclamations and letters, appealed to her doings as the best proof of the hollowness of her professions. She had spoken of her "motherly love":—

"Let this then," said they, "be tried by the fruits thereof. Credit her deeds, dear brethren, if ye will not credit us; and lay the example of foreign nations, yea, of your own brethren before your eyes, and procure not your own ruin willingly. If ye tender true religion, ye see how her Grace bears herself plain enemy thereto, and maintains the tyranny of the bishops against God's Kirk. If religion be not persuaded unto you, yet cast ye not away the care ye ought to have over your commonwealth, which ye see manifestly and violently ruined before your eyes. If this will not move you, remember your dear wives, children and posterity, your ancient heritages and homes, and be assured these strangers will regard no more your right thereunto than they have done your brethren's of Leith, whenever occasion shall serve. But if ye purpose, as we doubt not but that all who have either wit or manhood will declare and prove indeed, to bruik [1] your ancient rooms and heritages, conquered maist valiantly and defended by your maist noble

[1] To enjoy.

progenitors, against all strangers invaders of the same, as the French pretend plainly this day ; if ye will not be slaves unto them, and to have your lives, your wives, your bairns, your substance, and whatsoever is dear unto you casten at their feet, to be used and abused at the pleasure of foreign soldiers, as you see your brethren's at this day before your eyes ; if, as we suppose, the least of you would rather choose with honour to die in defence of his native soil, than to live and serve so shameful a servitude ; then, brethren, let us join our forces, and both with wit and manhood resist these beginnings, or else our liberties hereafter shall be dearer bought. Let no man withdraw himself herefrom. The eternal and omnipotent God, the true and only revenger of the oppressed, be our comfort and our protector against the fury and rage of the tyrants of this world, and especially from the insatiable covetousness of the Guisean generation. Amen."

The hand of Knox is conspicuous in these public documents of the Congregation. They reveal the ardour of his own patriotism, and the power of his eloquence in appealing to the nationality of his countrymen.

When the war of proclamations ended, the war of more lethal weapons began. The Lords of the Congregation having been joined in the beginning of September by the Duke of Chatelherault and his son the Earl of Arran (who had recently turned Protestant in France, and had escaped with great difficulty from the hands of the Guises)—it was agreed at Hamilton about the end of that month, that their whole forces should convene at Stirling on the 15th of October—"that from thence they might march forward to Edinburgh for the redress of the great enormities done by the French." A campaign began, which with several interruptions continued till the 7th of July in the following year, and was marked by the most violent vicissitudes of fortune. Commencing with great disasters to the arms of the Reformers, which almost overwhelmed them with discouragement, these very disasters proved in the end the occasion of their success, by bringing to their side the powerful assistance of an English army ; and the French, after gaining many advantages, and repeatedly repelling the assaults both of the Congregation and their English allies, were yet compelled at last to desist from their enterprise, and to yield the fruits of victory to their assailants.

The march to Edinburgh on the 16th of October, was followed by a retreat to Stirling on the 5th of November. The Lords on arriving in the capital sent an advertisement to the Queen-Regent in Leith, requiring her to dismiss her French soldiers, and to throw open the gates of the town to all their sovereign's Scottish lieges; and upon her refusal to do so, they passed an act of suspension, depriving her temporarily of her authority, which they caused to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh, on the 21st of October. But the boldness of these measures was ill sustained by vigour of action or union of counsel, in carrying on the siege. The feebleness and irresolution of the Duke were a source of weakness; their most secret counsels were betrayed to the enemy by traitors in the camp; they were without money to pay their soldiers, who broke out into mutiny; their messenger, the Laird of Ormiston, who was sent to bring a subsidy of one thousand pounds from Sir Ralph Sadler at Berwick, was waylaid by the Earl of Bothwell, and robbed of the treasure; they were worsted by the French veterans in two encounters, and pursued up to the gates of the town; the numbers of their soldiers rapidly diminished; universal discouragement prevailed; and at last they were compelled to withdraw under cover of night, amidst the jeers and triumphings of the popish rabble, who called them heretics and traitors. When they arrived at Stirling with the shattered remains of their forces, it needed all the religious fervour and power of Knox's pulpit eloquence to reanimate their hopes, and to stimulate them to new efforts.

But in truth this failure proved a greater advantage to their cause than a partial or undecisive success would have been. It opened the eyes of Elizabeth and her councillors to the necessity of aiding them, not only with money, but with men. It was now evident that the French troops, fighting behind strong fortifications, were more than a match for the inexperienced feudal levies of the Scottish nobles; and all that was needed was an able negotiator to represent

the gravity of the crisis in sufficiently vivid colours to the English court. Such a man was found in William Maitland of Lethington, who had recently joined the ranks of the Reformers, and whose single accession, which took place while they lay before Leith, was almost a full compensation for all their reverses. Maitland was despatched to London, immediately after the retreat to Stirling, and was so successful in his representations, that Elizabeth consented to send immediately into the Firth of Forth a small fleet, to cut off the communications and supplies of the French garrison, and resolved to take steps for the conclusion of a treaty with the Protestant Lords, with the view of besieging Leith with the united strength of both kingdoms, in the ensuing spring.

Never was succour more welcome to struggling patriots than was the appearance of the English fleet in the Firth, on the 23d of January, 1560. Four thousand French soldiers had been for some weeks in Fife, and were pressing along the coast on their way to St. Andrews, which they designed to reduce and occupy. The Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart were in command of the Protestant forces in that quarter, but had never been able to bring more than six hundred men into the field. All they could effect was to harass the French upon their march, to cut off their foraging parties, and somewhat to impede their advance. Their efforts were heroic, and they had captains to second them, men like William Kircaldy of Grange, and the Master of Lindsay, who were heroes like themselves. "They did so valiantly," says Knox, "that it passed all credibility; for twenty-and-one days they lay in their clothes; their boots never came off; they had skirmishing almost every day, yea some days from morn to even; they held the French so busy that for every horse they slew in the Congregation they lost four French soldiers." But the struggle was too unequal even for heroes, and it was welcome news when Admiral Winter's friendly sails hove in sight off the mouth of the Firth. Monsieur D'Osell mistook them at first for French ships, and ordered

his soldiers to fire off a volley from the lofty headlands of Kincraig, by way of salutation. But he was soon undeceived, for the admiral lost no time in capturing several French vessels filled with munitions, which were crossing the Firth at the moment of his arrival; and the French, seeing themselves thus unexpectedly cut off from communication with their magazines in Leith, were compelled to commence a hurried retreat to Stirling, "making more expedition in one day in returning, than they did in two in marching forward." To the sorely beleaguered warriors of the Reformation in Fife, this was "a mighty deliverance," as Knox calls it, and solemn thanks were offered up to God in the parish church of St. Andrews. The Reformer had animated them at Cupar, when the danger was at its greatest, by the assurance, that though like the disciples in the storm "they had to row the ship against contrary blasts for a time, yet deliverance was at hand; at the fourth watch, if not sooner, Christ would appear;" and the event had justified his prediction by fulfilling it.

The tide of events had now turned against the Regent and her French allies. They saw themselves confronted with the united resources of two kingdoms. On the 27th of February a treaty was concluded at Berwick, between Queen Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation, by which she engaged to send an army into Scotland to assist them in expelling the French from the kingdom; while the Lords on their part engaged "to the uttermost of their power to aid and support her majesty's army against the French, with horsemen, footmen, and victuals, by land and sea." The month of March was employed on both sides in making preparations for the final struggle; and on the 2d of April the English army crossed the border at Berwick, under the command of Lord Gray, eight thousand strong. They were met at Preston by the Duke of Chatelherault and other Scottish lords, at the head of five thousand men; and on the 6th of April, which was the eve of Palm Sunday, the two armies arrived at Restalrig, within a mile of Leith.

We cannot stop to narrate at any length the incidents of the siege. For more than three months it was pressed with great vigour, during the whole of which time the besiegers were kept plentifully supplied with provisions, and the two allied armies acted together with entire harmony. The French garrison made a gallant defence, and were commended even by their enemies for their persistency and valour; but as their communications with France were now completely cut off both by sea and land, they were at last reduced to extreme distress. It was more than two months after the opening of the trenches before the besiegers were ready to make the assault; and when it failed, partly through mismanagement and partly through the treachery of one of the English captains, the English, nothing daunted, resolved to persevere in the siege, and were reinforced with two thousand fresh troops from Berwick. "The patience and stout courage of the Englishmen," says Knox, "but principally of the horsemen, were worthy of all praise, for where was it ever heard that eight thousand (they never exceeded that number that lay in camp) should besiege four thousand of the most desperate throat-cutters that were to be found in Europe, and lie so near unto them in daily skirmishing, the space of three months and mair?"

As the Duke of Norfolk, who lay at Berwick, was resolved that the English army "should not lack men as long as any were to be had between Tweed and Trent," the issue of the siege could not be doubtful, and the prolongation of resistance on the part of the French, after they had done all that was needful to save their military honour, could only have led to the needless effusion of blood. The truth is that France had never contemplated a war with England in this Scottish quarrel, and found herself ill prepared to sustain the burden of such a conflict; and as soon as she was convinced that Elizabeth was really in earnest to support her Scottish allies, she became desirous of withdrawing from the struggle. On the 16th of June two French commis-

sioners arrived in Edinburgh with full power to conclude a treaty of peace, and were soon after followed by two commissioners from the English court, one of whom was Sir William Cecil. "The negotiation was langsum," says Knox, "for both England and we, fearing deceit, sought by all means that the contract should be sure, and they upon the other part protracted time to the uttermost." At last peace was concluded upon terms which secured to the country immediate deliverance from the French yoke. "By the treaty it was provided that the French troops should immediately be removed from Scotland; that an amnesty should be granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the Queen-Regent; that the principal grievances of which they complained in the civil administration should be redressed; and that a free parliament should be held to settle the other affairs of the kingdom. The treaty was signed on the 7th of July. On the 16th the French army embarked at Leith, and the English troops began their march into their own country; and on the 19th the Congregation assembled in St. Giles's Church to return solemn thanks to God for the restoration of peace, and the success which had crowned their exertions. In this manner terminated the civil war which attended the Scottish Reformation, after it had continued for twelve months, with less rancour and bloodshed than have distinguished any other conflict of a similar kind."

[1] McCrie's Knox, vol. i. p. 156, new edit.

Old Holyrood House.

Section 6. The Parliament of 1560.

The nation was now delivered from the incubus of the French arms; and by a higher award than that of war, it was also delivered at the same instant from the incubus of French councils. When the negotiations for peace were on the point of commencing, the supreme hand of Divine Providence interposed and removed the Queen-Regent by death. She expired in the castle of Edinburgh on the 10th of June 1560, after expressing her regret to several of the

Protestant lords "that she had acted so foolishly as to compel them to seek the support of others than their own sovereign, and her sore repentance that ever matters had come to that extremity." Her decease was a death-blow to the influence of France in Scottish affairs; and the government of the kingdom under the absent sovereign passed into the hands of the men who, with the help of England, had just worked out the emancipation of the nation from a foreign yoke.

By one of the articles of the treaty of peace, it had been provided that Parliament should be convened on the first day of August; and as the treaty had settled nothing on the question of religion, but had left that whole matter to be determined by the voice of the Three Estates, all men looked forward to the coming convention as one of the most important that had ever been held since Scotland was a nation. It was felt by all that the moment of decision had at length arrived; the nation was free to utter all that was in its heart; and it would now give effect to its convictions and wishes by acts of legislation, which would determine the religious institutions of the kingdom for ages to come. To have a seat and a vote in such an assembly was a privilege to be envied; and no fewer than one hundred and five of the lesser barons, who had long neglected to attend the meetings of parliament as a burden and expense, prepared to assert their ancient privilege of sitting and voting in the great council of the nation.

We are fortunately able to narrate the proceedings of this memorable assembly in the very terms in which they were originally chronicled by an intelligent spectator for the eye of Sir William Cecil. The Secretary had an agent resident in Edinburgh at the time—Thomas Randolph; and the letters are still extant in which Randolph recorded the scenes and transactions of the Parliament as they passed before him. We have also at our command several letters to the same statesman from the pen of William Maitland, of Lethington,

who was chosen Speaker of the Parliament, or Haranguemaker, as that high functionary was then called in Scotland.[1] The Lords began to assemble in Edinburgh on the 1st of August, but not in sufficient numbers to commence business. The formal opening was therefore delayed till the eighth of the month, and "hitherto," says Randolph, writing a few days before that date, "as many as have been present of the Lords have convened and devised of certain heads then to be proposed, as who shall be sent into France, who into England, &c. The barons, who in times past have been of the Parliament, had yesterday a convention among themselves in the church, in very honest and quiet sort. They thought it good to require to be restored unto their ancient liberty to have voice in Parliament. They presented that day a bill unto the Lords to that effect. It was answered unto gently, and taken in good part. It was reserved unto the lords of the articles, when chosen, to resolve thereupon."

The solemn opening of Parliament on the 8th is thus graphically described by Randolph in a letter written on the following day:—"The Lords at ten of the clock assembled themselves at the palace, where the Duke lyeth. From thence they departed towards the Tolbooth, as they were in dignity (*i.e.* in the order of their rank). Each one being set in his seat, the crown, the mace, and the sword were laid in the Queen's seat. Silence being commanded, the Laird of Lethington began his oration. He excused his insufficiency to occupy that place. He made a brief discourse of things past, and unto what necessity men were forced for the defence of their country; what remedy and support it pleased God to

1 These letters are preserved in the State Paper Office, along with many others which arose out of the Protestant alliance of Scotland and England at this period, and which as yet have only been very partially used by our Church historians. They include many letters of Knox, Kirkaldy, Balnaves, Lord James Stewart, and other reformers, besides naval and military despatches throwing light upon the incidents of the civil war. A selection of these papers, published with historical notes, would be a useful work.

send them in the time of their necessity, and how much they were bound heartily to acknowledge it and to requite it. He took away the persuasion that was in many men's heads that lay back, who misdeemed other things to be intended than was attempted. He advised all classes to lay all particulars apart, and to bend themselves wholly to the true service of God and their country. He willed them to remember what state it had been in of long time for lack of good government and execution of justice. In the end he exhorted them to mutual amity and heartlie friendship, and to live with one another as members all of one body. He used the example of the fable where the mouth denied to receive sustenance to nourish the rest of the body so long that the whole perished. He prayed God long to maintain this amity and peace with all princes, and especially betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, in the love and fear of God. And so ended—"

"The Clerk of the Register immediately stood up, and asked them to which matter they would proceed. It was thought good that the articles of the peace should be confirmed with the common consent, for that it was thought necessary to send them away with speed into France, and to receive the ratification of them as soon as might be. The articles being read were immediately agreed unto; a day was appointed to have certain of the nobles subscribe unto them, and to put their seals; immediately to be sent away by a herald who shall also bring the ratification of them again with him. The barons of whom I have above written, required an answer to their request. Somewhat was said unto the contrary. The barons alleged for them custom and authority. It was in the end resolved that there should six of them be chosen to join with the lords of the articles, and if that they, after good advisement, should find it right and necessary for the commonwealth, it should be ratified at this Parliament for a perpetual law.

"The lords proceeded immediately hereupon to the choosing of the lords of the articles. The order is that the lords spiritual choose the temporal, and the temporal the spiritual;

the burgesses their own. This being done, the lords departed and accompanied the Duke, all as far as the Bow, which is the gate going out of the High-street, and many down unto the palace—the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music, such as they have. Thus much I report unto your honour of that which I did both hear and see. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long past the lords have had Parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of use. The lords of the articles sit from henceforth in Holyrood House, except at such times as upon any matter of importance the whole lords assemble themselves again as they did this day in the Parliament House."

The choice of the lords of the articles was a point of vital importance, as to them was entrusted the initiation and first drafting of all important measures; and the choice which was now made gave great satisfaction to all the friends of the Reformation. "It were too long," writes Randolph on the 10th, "to trouble your honour to rehearse particularly the nature, disposition, and chiefly the affections that are judged to reign in each of these men that are at this time chosen lords of the articles. May it suffice your honour for this time to know, that by the common opinion of men there was not a more substantial or more sufficient number of all sorts of men chosen in Scotland many years, nor in whom men had greater hope of good to ensue. It is no small pleasure to many here that the two old bishops are none of them." The prelates referred to were the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Dunkeld. In fact, almost the whole of the bishops and abbots made choice of, had recently declared themselves on the side of Reform. The whole number of the lords of the articles was 36, including 10 lords spiritual, 10 nobles or great barons, 6 lesser barons, and 10 provosts of the chief towns of the kingdom.

Meanwhile Knox was "instant in season" in the pulpit of St. Giles. Choosing as his subject of daily exposition the Book of the Prophet Haggai; "his doctrine was proper for the

time, in application whereof he was so special and so vehement that some, having greater respect to the world than to God's glory, feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, 'We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the houses of God.' But albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did assemble themselves together to consult what things were to be proposed to that present Parliament." The result of these consultations was a supplication "to the nobility and estates of Parliament from the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others professing the Lord Jesus Christ within the realm," which was ready to be presented to the lords of the articles as soon as they convened.

This supplication earnestly "craved, in the bowels of Jesus Christ," three principal things; 1. That such doctrine and idolatry, as by God's word are condemned, may be abolished by act of this present Parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressors. 2. That the pure administration of the sacraments and discipline of the Church of Christ should be restored; and 3. That the usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Pope within the realm should be abolished. Having been "read in audience of the whole assembly, divers men were of divers judgments, for as some there were that uprightly favoured the cause of God, so were there many that for worldly respects abhorred a perfect Reformation. And yet were the barons and ministers called, and commandment given to them to draw in plain and several heads the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire that present Parliament to establish as wholesome, true, and only necessary to be believed, and to be received within that realm."

Within four days thereafter, Knox and the other Protestant ministers assembled in Edinburgh had drawn up the First Confession of the Reformed Church of Scotland. "Before it was published," writes Randolph, "or many words spoken of it, it was presented unto certain of the Lords to see their judgment. It was committed unto the Laird of Lethington, and the Sub-

prior (John Wynram), to be examined. Though they could not reprove the doctrines, yet did they mitigate the austerity of many words and sentences, which sounded to proceed rather of some evil-conceived opinion than of any sound judgment. The authors of the work had also put in this treatise a title or chapter of the obedience or disobedience that subjects owe unto their magistrates, that contained little less matter in few words than hath been otherwise written more at large. The surveyors of the work thought it to be an unfit matter to be entreated at this time, and so gave their advice to leave it out." The Confession, thus retrenched to some extent both in matter and form, was unanimously accepted by the lords of the articles. Writing to Cecil on the 15th, Maitland announced to him that "already there is past the confession of our faith, by ane unanimous consent of the haill lords of articles, to be sent to the King and Queen. The whole estate of the clergy is on our side, a few excepted of them that be present, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishops of Dumblane and Dunkeld. The religion is like enough to find many favourers of the whole of all estates. As yet, praised be God, there is no appearance of any division, but all like enough to continue in a good amity. We thought good before all things to pass the confession."

During the short interval that elapsed before the Confession was submitted to the whole Parliament, much influence was used and pains taken to gain over the Archbishop and the two bishops, of which Randolph supplies us with the following curious account. On the 16th he tells Cecil that—

"The Bishop of St. Andrews, upon motion that was made to him, was contented to talk with the Sub-prior, the Rector, and two others. They have had much communication without hope. He is stout and bold enough. He rideth and goeth at large. He came to the Duke to supper, invited and conveyed by Mr. Gavin Hamilton, of Kilwinning. He was as homely as welcome. The Duke after supper talked long with him; he was better willing to hear him than to believe anything he spake. They concluded in these words, that for his conscience he was determined, in that mind that he was of at that present to end his life. For his body, goods, and living, he was content to yield all into his hands. What besides matters

of conscience he would command him, he was always ready to obey. So that the Duke thinketh to bring him to subscribe the contract (*i.e.* the English Treaty). The Bishop of Dunkell remaineth as obstinate as ignorant. Being moved to hear Mr. Knox, he gave answer that he would never hear an old condemned heretic. Mr. Knox hath been with him for it since that time. So have also divers others that have preached. Sermons are daily, and great audience. Though divers of the nobles present are not resolved in religion, yet do they repair daily to the preachings, which giveth a good hope to many that God will turn their hearts. The Bishop of Dumblane is also now come; it is not to reason upon religion, but to do, as I hear, whatsomever the Earl of Argyle will command him. Mr. Knox and Mr. Willock were yesterday before the lords of the articles with the bishops. St. Andrews desired to have a copy of the confession of their faith. It was not denied him to have it shortly, though it be doubted that it be to send it into France before the lords do send, more than that he hath any mind to examine the verity or reform his conscience, be it never so reasonable."

On the 17th day of August, the Confession was read in audience of the whole Parliament, and by the estates thereof ratified and approved, "as wholesome and sound doctrine grounded upon the infallible word of God." On the 18th Maitland communicated the important news to Cecil in the following terms :—

"The confession of our faith was passed by common consent, where unto no man gainsayed, all being present. It is true that the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dumblane, and two of the temporal lords, did excuse themselves if they were not ready to speak their judgment, for that they were not sufficiently advised with the book. Thus far they did liberally profess, that they would agree to all things which might stand with God's word, and consent to abolish all abuses crept in in the Church not agreeable with the Scriptures, and asked longer time to deliberate on the book propounded, whereby they did in a manner confirm our doctrine, whereas they, having liberty to speak what pleased them, durst not impugn it, and uttered their own ignorance to their confusion. It was no small wonder to see what victory the truth did obtain by so uniform consent. We are not like to have many enemies at home."

Randolph's account of the transaction is much more minute and is deeply interesting. He writes like a chronicler, while Maitland writes like a statesman. In a letter dated the 19th of August, he says :—

"As touchyng such things as are concluded here in Parliament, and fully resolved upon hitherto, I never heard matters of so great importance neither sooner despatched nor with better will agreed unto. The matters concluded and past by common consent on Saturday in such solemn sort as the first day that they assembled, are these:—First, That the Barons, according to an old Act of Parliament, made in James the First's times, the year of God 1427, shall have free voice in Parliament. This act passed without any contradiction, as well of the bishops papists as all other present. The next was the ratyfication of the confession of their faith; in the which the Bishop of St. Andrews, in many words, said this in effect: that it was a matter that he had not been accustomed with; he had had no sufficient time to examine it or to confer with his friends; howbeit, as he would not utterly condemn it, so was he loth to give his consent thereunto. To that effect also spake the Bishops of Dunkell and Dumblane. Of the temporal lords, the Earl of Cassilis and the Earl of Caithness said nay. The rest of the lords, with common consent, and as glad a will as ever I heard men speak, allowed the same. Divers, with protestation of their conscience and faith, desyred rather presently to end their lives, than ever to think contrary unto that that they allowed then. Many also offered to shed their blude in defense of the same. The old Lord of Lindsay, as grave and goodly a man as ever I saw, said, 'I have lived many years; I am the eldest in this company, of my sort; now that it hath pleased God to let me see this day, when so many nobles and others have allowed so worthy a work, I will say with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*.' The old Lord of Lundie confessed how long he had lived in blindness, repented his former life, and embraced the same as his true belief. My Lord James, after some other purpose, said that he must the sooner believe it to be true, for that some others in the company did not allow the same. 'Ye know that God's trothe would never be without his adversaries.' The Lord Marschall said, that though he was otherwise assured it was true, yet might he be the bolder to pronounce it, for that he saw there present the pillars of the Pope's church, and not one of them that would speak against it. Many others to like effect, as the Lord of Erskine, Lord of Newbottle, the Sub-prior of St. Andrews, concluding, all in one, that that was the faith wherein they ought to live and die."

Never was confession of faith accepted by a parliament or political assembly with so much unanimity or so much emotion. In truth, the estates of the kingdom, in this solemn act, merged their civil and political, in their religious and ecclesiastical character. It was more like the act of a national synod than a parliament. The Confession ran in the name of the Estates,

and was conceived much more in the spirit and tone of a solemn testimony put forth to the world by a nation of earnest Christians—a testimony which they were ready to seal with their blood—than in the cold, scientific manner of a theological document. Its language is earnest and glowing. It is the warm utterance of a people's heart. "The Estates of Scotland, with the inhabitants of the samyn, professing Christ Jesus, his Holy Evangell," address themselves in it, "to their natural countrymen, and to all other realms and nations professing the same Lord Jesus with them;" and it is in such words as the following that they begin what reads rather like a declaration of the martyrs than a compend of divinity. "Long have we thirsted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger..... For God we take to record in our consciences that from our hearts we abhor all sorts of heresy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine, and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christ's Evangel, which is the only food of our souls, and therefore so precious to us, that we are determined to suffer the extremity of worldly danger, rather than that we will suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same. For hereof we are most certainly persuaded, that whoever denies Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of him in presence of men, shall be denied before the Father, and before his holy angels. And, therefore, by the assistance of the mighty spirit of the same our Lord Jesus, we firmly purpose to abide to the end, in the confession of this our faith."

Before another week was over, the lords of the articles had agreed to introduce to Parliament other three Acts of great importance, which formed the natural sequel to the national adoption of a Protestant confession. These were an "Act against the Mass," an "Act for abolishing the Jurisdiction of the Pope," and an "Act, repealing all the penal statutes against heresy, under which the nation had so long suffered." All these acts were passed with unanimity by the Estates,

on the 24th of August, of which meeting we have the following account by Randolph.

Aug. 27. The Lords of the Parliament assembled in the Tolbooth in like sort as the first of their meeting confirmed there, by common consent, divers Acts agreed upon by the Lords of the Articles, whereof the first was the confirmation of the treaty at Berwick, which by the Lord of Liddington was notably commended unto the lords, with ample declaration of the necessity of the time, the occasion thereof, and the good will and favour of the Queen's Majesty, to their relief in time of their extreme necessity and almost utter ruin of the whole country. It passed with the common consent of all men; divers also so much commended the same, that they said that they would be content to seal it with their blood. Some exhorted all men constantly to remain in that opinion, and never to swerve from the same. Others praised the first motioners, and prayed for the life and welfare of her Majesty, that was the performer. This ended, the lord James protested in his own name and other of the contractors, that they might have an instrument that their Act was allowed to be good, lawful, and not prejudicial unto the crown of Scotland, and confirmed by common consent of Parliament. They have deposed the pope, and abrogated his authority without contradiction. Many penal statutes against heretics are taken away. The mass is utterly abolished, and pains appointed both to the sayers and hearers. The first, confiscation of their goods, the next, banishment, third, loss of their lives. The three bishops, St. Andrews, Dumblane, and Dunkell, being called to pursue their bill of complaint of the misusing of them, and contempt of their authority, given to the lords of the Articles, compeared not, whereupon a decree was made for the stay of their livings. The Parliament is prorogued."

On the same day, the 27th, Maitland wrote to Cecil briefly, thus:—"Although our Parliament is not ended, it is for the present, upon good respects, dissolved, and many of our principal matters passed with a greater and more uniform agreement of the most part than was looked for. *There is, in a manner, no controversy on religion*, and much less anent maintenance of amity with England, which all most earnestly wish may endure for ever, and that the means of continuance may be embraced. The treaty of Berwick is by Act of Parliament confirmed, which I doubt not shall highly irritate the French."

Thus ended this memorable meeting of the Parliament of

Scotland—the greatest in its acts, and the most weighty in its consequences, that ever assembled in the whole course of Scottish History. It marked the close of the mediæval history of the kingdom, and commenced, with a series of great transactions, the nation's modern life and development. It was the era both of a grand catastrophe, and of a grand new creation. Old things passed away, and all things became new. A nation was born in a day to newness of life.

In one respect alone did the ideas of that great social revolution and renovation fall behind the ideas of our own age. The Parliament of 1560 enacted penal laws against the Romish worship, in the room of those which had previously been enacted against the worship of the Protestants. They imitated the intolerant legislation under which they had themselves so long groaned. They denied to others that "freedom and liberty of conscience" which they had at length wrought out for themselves. It was undoubtedly an inconsistency on the score of principle; but practically considered, it was a necessity of the times. To us it appears a plain contradiction to the fundamental Protestant principle of the duty and right of private judgment in matters of religion; but to the Protestants of the sixteenth century, such legislation seemed indispensable as a policy of self-defence. The Papists, though beaten on many fields, were not yet conquered; they had still immense powers in Europe; and they burned with impatience to revenge their defeats, and to recover the ground which they had lost. The war of churches continued, and a time of war suggests different maxims of policy and government, from a time of peace. At such a time men are less apt to consider how much they can give to an enemy, than how much they can take away. We are prone to plume ourselves upon our more enlightened principles of religious legislation, as though we had attained to them purely by a superior degree of philosophic discernment and political wisdom. But the altered conditions of the world and of the relations of the churches to each other have doubtless had

much to do in evolving these principles and elevating them to social power. After all, if the Protestants of the nineteenth century are more tolerant than those of the sixteenth, this is very much owing to the difference of the times in other respects. The decline of ecclesiastical power in the affairs of the world has delivered all Churches from the fear of persecution at the hands of one another; and when intolerant laws are no longer of any use for purposes either of offence or defence, there is no great mental superiority evinced in allowing them to be expunged as a dead letter from the statute books of nations.

John Knox's House, Edinburgh.

Section 7. The Organization of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

THE ground was now cleared for the erection of a new ecclesiastical edifice, and solid foundations laid for the structure in a Confession of Faith which could justly claim to be "grounded upon the infallible truth of God's Word." But what was to be the fashion of the new Fabric? Were the builders ready with a settled plan?

The plan of the Reformed Church was ready as early as the 20th of May, 1560, while the siege of Leith was still proceeding. On the 29th of April the heads of the Council had delivered to Knox and his colleagues "a charge, requiring and commanding them, in the name of the eternal God, and as they should answer in His presence, to commit to writing, and in a book deliver unto them, their judgment touching the Reformation of Religion;" and in three weeks thereafter "the Buke of Discipline" was finished, in which with "unity of mind" they offered to the Lords a series of heads or conclusions "concerning doctrine, administration of sacraments, election of ministers, provision for the sustentation of ministers, ecclesiastical discipline and policy of the Kirk." In the preparation of which work "the ministers," as has been justly claimed for them by one of our church historians, "took not their pattern from any kirk in the world; no, not from Geneva itself, but laying God's word before them, made reformation according thereunto,"[1] and in the submission of which to the judgment of the Council they heartily agreed that by the standard of the Divine word it behoved to be tried in all its parts. "Most humbly," they said, "we require your honours, as ye look for participation with Christ Jesus, that neither ye admit anything which God's plain word shall not approve, neither yet that ye shall reject such ordinances as equity, justice, and God's word do specify. For as we will not bend your wisdoms to our judgments further than we be able to prove the same by God's plain Scriptures, so must we most humbly crave of you, even as ye will answer in God's presence, before whom both ye and we must appear to render accounts of all our doings, that ye repudiate nothing for pleasure nor affection of men, which ye be not able to disprove by God's written and revealed Word."

It was not to be expected that a book of Church order and discipline containing a great number and variety of practical proposals, could be quickly assented to. The "sustentation of

[1] "The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland," by Johne Rowe, Woodrow Society Edit. p. 12.

the ministry," the endowment of schools and colleges and universities, and a legal provision for the poor, were questions of public economics which touched the private interests of those who were now enjoying the ecclesiastical rents and revenues, out of which it was proposed to provide for all these important objects, and it was inevitable that such questions should be long of reaching a solution. In truth, the ministers had grievous cause to complain of the conduct of many of the Protestant nobles in this respect, for many of them "perceiving," as Knox says, "their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged at the Book of Discipline, insomuch that its name became odious unto them. Everything that repugned to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage 'devout imaginations.' Some were licentious; some had greedily gripped to the possessions of the Kirk, and others thought they would not lack their part of Christ's coat, as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. There was none within the realm mair unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they which had greatest rents of the churches." When such causes of difficulty were at work, it is no wonder that there was delay in submitting the book to the judgment of Parliament, and that it should even have been considered necessary to obtain the opinions of the continental Reformers upon its principles. On the 25th of August, Randolph tells Cecil that "the Book of Common Reformation was being translated into Latin, with the view of being sent to Calvin, Viret, and Beza, in Geneva, and to Martyr, Bullinger, and others in Zurich."

But Randolph's valuable letters permit us to get a glimpse of another influence which was at work among the Lords, and which doubtless contributed somewhat to the difficulties which stood in the way of the civil recognition of the Book of Discipline. Cecil had instructed Randolph to suggest to the Protestants of Scotland the desirableness of conforming their ecclesiastical arrangements to the model of the Church of England, so that there might be a common order for

both kingdoms; and Randolph had not been remiss in acting upon these instructions. "I have talked of late," says he, "with them all,"—meaning Knox, Willock, Goodman, and the other preachers,—"to search their opinions how a uniformity might be had. in religion in both these realms. They seem willing that it so were, and many commodities are alleged that might ensue thereof. Howbeit I find them so severe in that which they profess, and so lothe to remit anything of that which they have received, that I see little hope thereof. With others I have dealt more liberally (*i. e.* more freely) than with them. They find it so expedient that there shall lack no good will in them thereunto." Some of the laymen, it would seem, were much more disposed to imitate the English model than the divines. But the general feeling, both of the clergy and laity, was against the suggestion; for Randolph adds, that "he perceived not their opinion towards England to be such," that they would be content to submit the Book of Discipline to the judgment of English divines. "Howbeit they will not refuse to commune with any learned of our nation to hear their judgment." So early in the history of British Protestantism had the idea of a uniformity between the Scottish and English Churches been started and pressed; and so early were complaints made on the side of England, that Scotsmen were *severe* in their ecclesiastical opinions. From the first moment that the scheme was broached there was, in Randolph's judgment, "little hope of it."

The effect of all these causes of delay was, that the Book of Discipline was not approved of by any organ of the civil authority till the 27th of January, 1561, and even then only by a majority of the lords of secret council. It was never ratified by Parliament as the Confession had been, and could never, therefore, save in part, be carried into effect by the Church. But the book was in the highest degree honourable to its authors. Apart altogether from its claims as a platform of Church order and polity, its views on

the subject of public education were far in advance of the age, and have not even yet been exceeded in breadth and liberality of conception. Scotland at the present day is vastly worse off in point of educational provision than she would have been in John Knox's time, if Knox had been allowed to carry out his views; and there is something like a challenge to posterity to produce any better scheme, in the language which he makes use of, when incorporating it with his history. He declares that he does so "to the end that the posterity to come may judge as well what the worldlings refused as what policy the godly ministers required; that they, if God grant unto them occasion and liberty, may either establish a more perfect, or else imitate that which avaritiousness would not suffer this corrupt generation to approve."

Still there was much of the Church order and policy laid down in the Book of Discipline, which, being purely ecclesiastical, the Church by her own authority could immediately carry out; and there were several important points, too, requiring the concurrence of the civil authority, in which no difficulty was experienced in obtaining that concurrence. No time was lost in giving effect to these parts of the plan, and in thus imparting form and organization to the new Church.

What were the general views of the Scottish Reformers regarding the essential characters of a true Church of Christ, will be best seen in the following "Notes of the True Church," as laid down in their Confession.

"The notes of the true Kirk of God, we believe, confess, and avow to be, first, The true preaching of the word of God, in which God has revealed Himself to us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles do declare. Secondly. The right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, which must be annexed to the word and promise of God to seal and confirm the same in our hearts. Lastly. Ecclesiastical discipline, uprightly ministered as God's word prescribes, whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished. Wheresoever then these former notes are seen, and of any time continue (be the number never so few, above two or three), there, without all doubt, is the true Kirk of Christ, who, according to his promise, is in the midst of them."

Holding these fundamental views of Church life and order, the Reformers acted upon them from the first, and were careful to carry them out in their integrity. In fact, before the Confession was drawn up, they had already organized congregations or "particular kirks" upon these principles in all the principal towns in the kingdom; in which, along with the pure preaching of the Word, and the scriptural administration of the Sacraments, discipline was exercised upon the members, for the nourishment of virtue and the suppression of vice.

Immediately after the conclusion of the war, some of the reforming nobility and barons, and the commissioners sent to Parliament by the burghs, were associated with the ministers in a council or board for making several ecclesiastical arrangements and appointments which were of primary necessity. This council was the germ of the "National or General Assembly," which did not hold its first meeting till the 20th of December, 1560; but being only of a temporary or provisional character, it limited itself to two measures which could not be postponed without injury to the spiritual interests of the kingdom; viz. the distribution of ministers, and the appointment of superintendents.

The number of ministers at first was exceedingly small, no more than twelve; and of these John Knox was appointed to labour in Edinburgh, David Lindsay in Leith, Christopher Goodman in St. Andrews, William Christison in Dundee, John Row in Perth, Adam Heriot in Aberdeen, David Ferguson in Dumfermline, and Paul Methven in Jedburgh. While these ministers confined their labours to the principal towns, the remaining four were appointed to take the pastoral oversight of whole districts, travelling from place to place, and by continual preaching bringing the Gospel into the remotest rural parishes. These were called Superintendents, and were thus distributed:—John Spottiswood to the province of Lothian and the Merse; John Wynram to Fife and Perthshire; John Willock to Glasgow and Ayr; and John Carswell to Argyle and the Isles. To these was early added the name of John

Erskine of Dun, who, though not educated for the sacred office, was judged eminently qualified for it by his gifts and graces, and having received ordination, was appointed to superintend the province of Angus and Mearns. The Book of Discipline recommended that there should be ten of these ecclesiastical provinces ; but for lack at first of qualified men, and afterwards of adequate funds for their support, the whole number of Superintendents was never completed, and the Church was obliged to have recourse to the expedient of appointing special commissioners to visit the districts which could not otherwise be provided for, till she was able to take order for the ecclesiastical supervision of the whole country by the appointment of presbyteries. The office of the Superintendents was a mere provisional arrangement, rendered necessary for a time by the paucity of ministers ; and as soon as practicable it was superseded by the institution of presbyteries, conformably to the proper normal development of the Presbyterian platform.

It has often been contended that the provincial superintendent in the early reformed Church of Scotland was only another name for a diocesan bishop, and that the order of bishop, afterwards more formally introduced by the interference of the civil power, was only an expansion of this original germ. But this is an entire misconception. The Superintendents were not a distinct order of the ministry ; "they were elected and admitted in the same manner as other pastors, and they were equally subject to rebuke, suspension, and deposition as the rest of the ministers of the Church." It was a part of their charge, indeed, to plant churches, and appoint ministers to the countries committed to their care ; "but in the examination of those whom they admitted to the ministry, they were bound to associate with them the ministers of the neighbouring parishes." It was also a part of their function "to examine the life, diligence and behaviour of the ministers, as also the order of their churches and the manners of the people, admonishing where admonition needeth ; but

they could not exercise any spiritual jurisdiction without the consent of the provincial synods, over which they had no negative voice, and they were accountable to the General Assembly for the whole of their conduct." [1]

The paucity of ministers rendered necessary another arrangement of a temporary kind; viz., the appointment of Readers and Exhorters. The Book of Discipline recommended that "to kirks, where no ministers can presently be had, should be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the Common Prayer and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the kirk till they grow to greater perfection; and in process of time he that is but a reader may attain to the further degree, and by consent of the kirk (*i.e.* the particular congregation) and discreet ministers, may be permitted to minister the sacraments, but not before he is able somewhat to persuade by wholesome doctrine, besides his reading, and be admitted to the ministry as before is said. Some we know that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserved praise of all godly men, and whose knowledge also might greatly help the simple, and yet they only content themselves with reading. These must be animated, and by gentle admonition encouraged, by some exhortation to comfort their brethren; and so they may be admitted to administration of the sacraments." Here then was a wise provision both for the present necessities of the people, and for the future enlargement of the numbers of the ministry. Many of the readers first became exhorters, and afterwards ordained ministers; till at length, in 1581, the office of reader being no longer necessary, and "as being no ordinary office" within the Kirk of God, was abolished. From 1560 up to that year, the number of ordained ministers had rapidly increased. In 1567 the Church had 257 ordained ministers, besides 151 exhorters, and 455 readers. In 1574 the ministers numbered 289. In 1581 "it was thought meet to fix the number of parish kirks at 600, and at every kirk to have a minister."

[1] McCrie's Life of John Knox, Note N N.

It was not till the year last mentioned that the division of the whole Church into Presbyteries was effected, and that the provincial assemblies or synods, as distinguished from the national or general assembly, were fully organized. But all along the germs or rudiments of these different courts had existed. In every considerable town a weekly meeting, called "The exercise," was held, which was attended by all the ministers and most gifted readers of the neighbourhood, within a radius of six miles, for exercising themselves in the interpretation of the Scriptures; and it was these district "exercises" that were afterwards converted into presbyteries. In every province allotted to the care of a Superintendent or Commissioner, it was the duty of that functionary to assemble the ministry and representative elders of the province twice a year, and to associate them with himself in the exercise of his jurisdiction; and it was these assemblies that were afterwards consolidated into provincial synods.

The General Assembly, though for some time small in numbers, was from the first complete in its organization, and a most powerful organ of church-life. At its first meeting in Edinburgh, already referred to, "there were not above twelve ministers, but there were sundry ruling elders, commissioners, to the number of thirty, to assist them in that good work, which the Lord so blessed that appointment was made of other forty-three, whereof some were to read the Word in the mother-tongue to the people, and some also to preach and exhort as pastors. *Item*, it was resolved that there should be two general assemblies holden every year, which was ordinarily observed for a long time, so that at every assembly, by the blessing of God, the number of Christ's ministers increased, and the number of the godly professors also grew exceedingly."[1]

Here then, in its very first meeting, may be seen in vigorous action the two principles upon which the power of the General Assembly has always mainly depended; viz., its mixed constitution as a council of ministers and elders—the latter represent-

[1] Rowe's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 13.

ing and giving effect to the views of the Christian people—and its freedom and independence of action, in relation to the civil power. At its very first meeting the Assembly freely determines how often and when it will meet again; and the "Freedom of Assemblies" was from the first regarded as the palladium not only of the Church's liberties, but also of her purity and usefulness as a religious institution. "Take from us," exclaimed Knox, when arguing with the Protestant courtiers in 1561—"take from us the freedom of Assemblies, and take from us the Evangel; for without Assemblies how shall good order and unity of doctrine be kept?"

The worship of the Church and the administration of the Sacraments were rigorously reduced to the unadorned simplicity of apostolic times. Every vestige of Popish corruption and superstition was swept away; and not only so, but every religious practice and observance was laid aside which could not be shown to have a distinct warrant and sanction in the word of God. There was no Church in Europe which in this sense was so thoroughly purged and reformed. Not a single "root of bitterness" was left in the soil which could afterwards spring up and trouble the peace and purity of the Church. The Church which was followed most closely in this respect by the Scottish Reformers, was that of Geneva, and "The Book of Common Order"—a directory of public worship drawn up by Knox and others for the use of the English Reformers in that city, upon the model of a similar work by Calvin—had been introduced to some of the congregations before the Parliament of 1560. Some others had made use of the second Prayer-book of King Edward VI.; but this liturgy never received the sanction of the General Assembly, and was soon everywhere superseded by the Book of Common Order, which had been thus formally approved. Such a liturgical help was indispensable at a time when most of the congregations of the Church were dependent upon the services of readers and exhorters. Yet the ordained ministry was not bound to a rigid adherence to these liturgical forms, but might freely use the gifts of prayer and utterance

with which it had been endowed. We find instances of this freedom and variety in prayer among the most distinguished preachers during the sitting of the Parliament. "The Bishop of Galloway," says Randolph, "preacheth earnestly, and prayeth heartily, for the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign, and greatly extolleth her benefits. Mr. Willock, specially by name, prayeth both for France and England. Mr. Knox, universally, for all princes living in the fear of God, desiring Him to turn the hearts of other, and to send them in the right way."

Another important feature of resemblance between the Scottish and the Genevan ecclesiastical platforms was the prominence given to the exercise of Discipline as an institution of Christ, and an indispensable guarantee for the purity of the Church's communion. The principal function of the elders of the Church, as distinguished from the ministers, was to take part with the latter in the administration of discipline; and such elders had been appointed as soon as separate congregations began to be formed, "when as yet there was no public face of a kirk, nor open assemblies, but secret and privy conventions in houses or in the fields." Randolph saw with wonder the religious submission with which the exercise of discipline was received in the church of Edinburgh even by persons of rank and station.

"It is almost miraculous," says he in a letter to Henry Killygrew, "to see how the Word of God taketh place in this country. They are better willing to receive discipline here than in any country that ever I was in. Upon Sunday last, both before noon and after, there were at the sermons that confessed their offences, and repented their lives before the congregation. Mr. Secretary (Cecil) and Dr. Wotton were present. The Wednesday after, three others did the like. We think to see next Sunday a lady of the country, named the Lady Stenhouse, by whom the Bishop of St. Andrews hath had, without shame, five or six children, openly repent her life. God send us great increase hereof to his honour."

Nor was it only the Church courts that exercised this disciplinary jurisdiction; the magistrates of all the cities and principal towns of the kingdom zealously seconded the Church

in her efforts to restrain vice and impiety, and to promote habits of religion, sobriety, and purity among the people. The municipal records of that age are full of examples of such an exercise of civic authority; and occasional instances occurred, in which the punishments inflicted upon offenders were so severe and ignominious, as to excite sympathy and tumultuous opposition on the part of the less religious and moral portion of the community. Still, on the whole, these records of municipal zeal form an honourable memorial of the Reformers of the age. They show what an earnest spirit of improvement was diffused by the young Church throughout the whole of society, and what a powerful current of new moral life was poured at that era into all the arteries of the nation. The methods adopted, indeed, to bring about a renovation of the national life, were not always such as we can now approve. Both civil and ecclesiastical power was often, as we must think, unduly stretched to gain the ends of public religion and morality. But it was a grand thing to witness almost a whole nation in earnest to prosecute such noble aims. And it was a splendid testimony to the purity, and power, and usefulness of the Reformed Church of Scotland and her Presbyterian order, that it was under her teaching and discipline that a nation which, of all European peoples, had become the most corrupt in religion and morals, was enabled to recover itself from that debased condition, to shake itself from the dust, and to put on again the beautiful garments of truth and righteousness, and to enter upon a new and high career of Christian civilisation and progress, upon which it has never ceased to advance to the present time.

Well might John Knox, the great hero of this Reformation, exclaim, on looking back from the year 1566 upon the immense difficulties which had been overcome, and the splendid triumphs which had been won—"How potently God hath performed in these our last and wicked days the promise that is made to the servants of God, that they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall lift up the wings as the eagles; they

shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint. For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wisdom or worldly policy was in us to have brought to any good end so great an enterprise? And yet in how great purity God did establish among us his true religion as well in doctrine as in ceremonies! To what confusion and fear were idolaters, adulterers, and all public transgressors of God's commandments within short time brought! The public order of the Church, yet by the mercy of God preserved, and the punishment executed against malefactors, can testify unto the world. For as touching the doctrine taught by our ministers, and as touching the administration of sacraments used in our churches, we are bold to affirm that there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth that hath them in greater purity; yea, we must speak the truth whomsoever we offend,—there is none, no realm we mean, that hath them in the like purity. All praise to God alone, *we have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that 'Man of sin.'* And this we acknowledge to be the strength given to us by God, because we esteemed not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but understanding our whole wisdom to be but mere foolishness before our God, we laid it aside, and followed only that which we found approved by Himself. Our First Petition was, 'That the reverent face of the primitive and apostolic Church should be reduced again to the eyes and knowledge of men.' And in that point we say that God has strengthened us TILL THE WORK WAS FINISHED, AS THE WORLD MAY SEE."

THE END.

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